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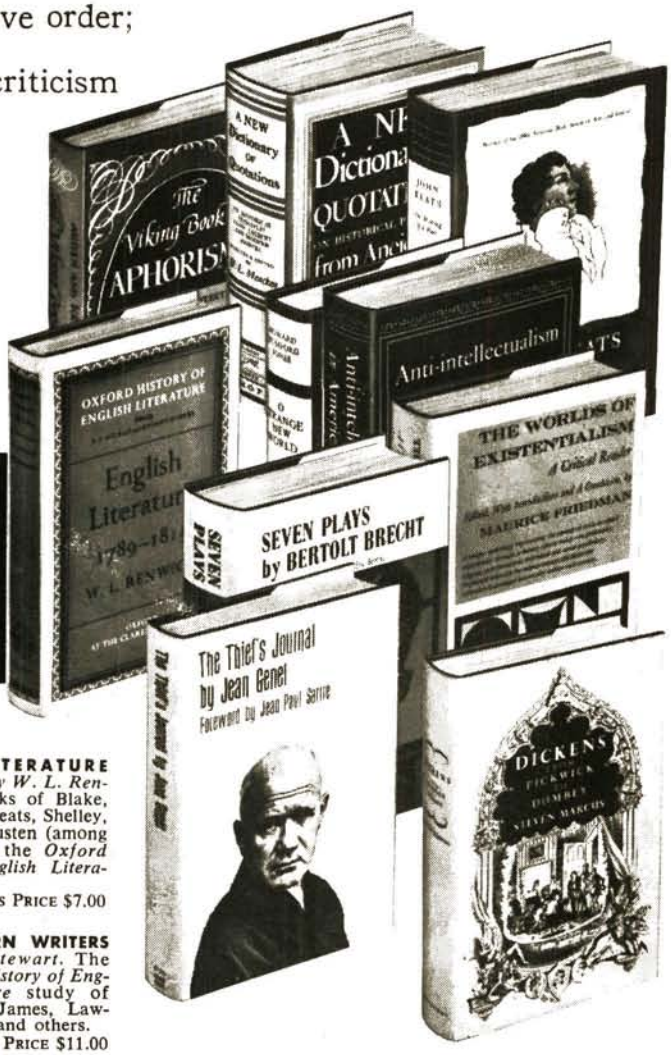

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Thanks, Lyndon

★ It seems appropriate to take a look at LBJ while he's laid up. First, his substitute is Humphrey. That's good. Lyndon picked him: Their relationship is close and cordial. That's good. There would be a minimum transition jolt: We have a good insurance policy. Papa Lyndon has seen to it. A lot of people criticize the President for bossiness. We do too. You can run through the tired adjectives: egotistical, over-sensitive, secretive, dominating, bullying, corny, power-hungry, tasteless, sentimental. And so on. Mostly true. But look what Papa has hung on the Christmas tree: school aid, medicare, civil rights, housing, tax cuts, prosperity . . . and dozens of other goodies. How nice it is to have a man who gives what liberals have asked for generations, plus the fun of kicking him around, too!

Incidentally, too, his final pre-operative behavior at the White House was one of the finest bravura performances we have ever seen; he sauntered about Pennsylvania Avenue; shamed a nervous stock market; extolled Congress; reduced tension to jocularity and, with all eyes fixed on him (and we must say it) seemed to relish every minute.

Let's not be grateful, that is sissy stuff: We expect to continue our detached and critical attitude toward a man who, by any definition, is extraordinary. But put it another way: Suppose the GOP were in charge now. Not Goldwater (that would be a straw man) but a Dirksen-Nixon-Ford team of middle-road conservatives. Well, on their own statements, what would we get? First – fiscal: Balanced budget, no tax cut until retrenchment: ergo, a recession straight off (Ike landed three in eight years, a record). The GOP in Congress has opposed most big Johnson reforms except, maybe, civil rights; winding up with defeat of Washington home rule, and probably, deferment of 14(b) repeal. You don't like Mr. Johnson's Vietnam policy? All right, do you prefer the GOP alternative? – total victory, no negotiations, more bombing; not only here but Santo Domingo; a tougher line to Cuba. Yes, and so forth. Thanks, Lyndon. Get well quick! We want to criticize you some more.

In the best Senate show this year a freshman Senator from Tennessee named Ross Bass took on mellifluous old trouper Dirksen on the 14(b) issue and, in a toe-to-toe duel, knocked him out of the ring. The weapons were of Dirksen's choosing, humor, hyperbole, arm-flailing posturing and polite personalities, and in every department Bass won on points. He is as raucous and funny and corny as Dirksen, and the odd part is, he is an idealistic liberal. One almost felt sorry for the Old Maestro; here was a newcomer who did it better. He threw Dirksen off stride, broke his rhythm, put him on the defensive. Intellectual? Not on the surface at least: "I have admired him [Dirksen] since I was a little child," said Bass (47) suavely, at one point; "Oh, no!" replied Dirksen (69). But Bass knew his stuff. Under the persiflage he was tough as nails. He comes from a state with the 14(b) anti-union provision and is courageously denouncing it; Dirksen comes from an industrial state that rejects 14(b), and he fights for it elsewhere.

Desperate to Stop It

★ Why does Dirksen do it? We think because he is out to destroy the one-man, one-vote reapportionment ruling.

They are far apart, you say! But many of the 19 right-to-work states passed them because of malapportioned state legislatures. (Fifteen of the 19, ironically, have "integrated bars" – lawyers can't practice unless they join the state bar association; but the idea that workers can't work unless they join unions is called immoral.) We guess Dirksen would drop the 14(b) filibuster if he could swap it for votes against apportionment. He is building up leverage for next year.

Reapportionment, remember, is slowly cutting the vitals out of conservatism in rotten-borough state legislatures all over America. Conservatives are desperate to stop it; it is now or never. Just take these developments: Judges have imposed reapportionment on the Alabama House (gerrymandered against Negroes). Judges have redistricted Vermont's ancient monster. Next month's elections will recast the reapportioned legislatures in New York, New Jersey and so on. Every month makes it harder to turn back history.

A new aspect of America's immigration problem comes, oddly enough, from Rome's Communist newspaper *L'Unita*. It is a sour piece, written for Italy's largest political party. It argues that Italy's most profitable export is the emigrant. About half a million leave a year, and almost all send home remittances. In 1962 these savings reached $550 million officially, and maybe twice that actually.

We have no criticism of Italians: we like them. They are perfectly entitled to send remittances home. According to figures of the Department of State a backlog of 249,583 Italians are waiting for admission to the US if they can get in under the new law, with other countries in proportion. Cuba raises the matter afresh. Castro wants to oust opponents; we want to help him. So far 270,000 refugees have come. They don't send remittances back, but in Miami they are creating a population nightmare. In theory, Castro will be overthrown some day and they will drop their parole status and go home. But will they? Who will overthrow Castro if his enemies come here?

Now the US proposes to Castro to take a possible quarter million more refugees. A bluff, perhaps? But how far can this go? Does a Communist overthrow entitle the opposition party in any overcrowded nation to move to the US?

★ *Notes:* Looks as though GOP-Birchites are going to defeat Republican Liberal Lindsay for Mayor of NYC, by splitting his vote. . . . Sen. McClellan (D, Ark.) is readying a spectacular for next session, a hearing aimed at the Supreme Court's "softness" to criminals. . . . Final thought: Can you remember the name of the man who ran a year ago for Vice President with Goldwater? . . . Butcher was it, or Carpenter?

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Delusions of Power

"My hair has gone white in the 16 years we have been waiting for the American imperialists to attack," Communist China's foreign minister, Marshal Chen Yi, said in Peking this month. He was taunting the US, but his remark reveals more. China's leaders are old men who are feeling their age. The US has not attacked their country, but not because they are strong or we are weak. On the contrary, the might of the United States measured in modern weapons has far outpaced that of the other super-power, Russia. China, despite prodigious self-sacrifice to join the nuclear club, is by far the weakest of the five nuclear nations. Last month Peking withdrew its claim on India for some yaks and sheep – a humiliating if not humbling experience. China's quarrel with Russia deepens, while Russia and the United States tentatively make pacific noises at each other. This week, reports from Indonesia suggest that the Peking-trending Indonesian Communist Party, largest in any non-Communist country in the world, has either clumsily leapt or allowed itself to be shoved into a situation where the Indonesian Army can deal it a possibly mortal blow, at the onset of the long-awaited scramble for power in post-Sukarno Indonesia. In short, the Chinese Communists' Long March looks like falling far short of its goal of winning over Asia, Africa, perhaps the whole world. From all reports, China is losing interest in a grand get-together of Afro-Asians in Algiers next month, now that African leaders have made it clear they will refuse to join Peking in lambasting Russia and the US. Even on the home front, things are not going according to plan: Mao Tse-tung has denounced China's younger generation as West-leaning, pleasure-loving weaklings whom incessant propaganda apparently has numbed into indifference (at the least) toward the grand designs of Chinese Communism. Life takes precedence over theory and neither the world nor Asia is as simple as Marx's model made it seem. The complexities which baffle and anger Chinese leaders reflect human diversity, within China as well as without, but which Communist dogma has failed to take sufficiently into account. This country, which not only accepts but welcomes diversity, ought to have avoided the trap of over-simplification into which the Chinese Communists have fallen. We ought to have seen that US power and wisdom, as well as Chinese are not unlimited. The US Air Force could destroy Peking's nuclear installations but is restrained from doing so, for the good reason that it might trigger an atomic war. Likewise, though the US appears to have great influence over India

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and Pakistan, because they depend on us for urgently needed food, we are unable to compel them to a reasonable settlement of their quarrel over Kashmir.

A proper appraisal of national power and how it should be employed has been blurred in this country. The American mind has been muddled by instant remedies, usually turning on bold confrontation of a monolithic enemy. But as the Chinese may be finding out, instant remedies are drugs, liable to produce initial stimulation at the cost of later headache. The world is full of Gordian knots, few of which can be cut by a single slice of a sharp sword. Most need to be slowly and painfully untied, as the US and Russia have begun to discover, and as we have to learn in Asia.

The exigent test is Vietnam, which has had spell-binding power to keep American delusions alive and even revive them when they seem to have perished. Once again the Administration is determined to believe that "victory" is in the offing, and that we need not therefore try and negotiate with the Viet Cong. Opponents of negotiation earlier grumbled that it was foolish to expect the Viet Cong to talk when they were ahead; now that it is we who are supposed to be winning, perhaps the Viet Cong can be got to listen. But is the tide turning in favor of the US? The summer did not bring the expected assaults in strength by the Viet Cong, who were supposed to have been beefed up for that purpose by the North's 325th division. There were no set battles involving whole battalions and brigades of the Viet Cong, and they did not try to repeat a military triumph like Dien Bien Phu. The newly strengthened American forces moved massively against the Viet Cong, chiefly with B-52s and clouds of helicopters, but it is too soon to say more than that the US is no longer losing ground. In recent fighting a full two-thirds of the Viet Cong have not been around to be harried by American strikes. They have faded from sight, including the North's always elusive 325th division. The Pentagon and State Department may believe this means that the bombing of the North is at last paying off; it could mean instead that the Viet Cong intend to resume guerrilla and terrorist tactics, in which case the war can continue indefinitely.

What have been the results of our total war tactics? Repeated B-52 poundings are supposed to have "taught" villages that it doesn't pay to harbor Viet Cong; but that lesson has been taught only at the price of destroying the villages and compelling survivors to flee into areas that we and Saigon hold. Here is the current score: 600,000 to 1,000,000 refugees, without food, homes or jobs; a fall in rice production so steep that the US has to send rice to a country that was once Southeast Asia's rice bowl; inflation and a huge ($340-million) budget deficit. And, must we not add, growing Vietnamese resentment of the non-Asiatic intruder who, rather than the Viet Cong, is identified with those torments which they find themselves daily enduring?

Our military forces have rapidly created and fortified a number of formidable "beachheads," poured in troops with more on the way, and settled down to a long war. The beachheads are to be the nuclei of "ink-blots," a fancy name for (hopefully) expanding areas of "security," where in theory no Viet Cong will dare lift his head. But is the badly frazzled South Vietnamese Army to keep the cleared areas secure, while the Americans go out hunting the Viet Cong? Or will the Americans stand guard while the South Vietnamese Army once again tries to destroy the Viet Cong in the field? Whichever way the task is divided, the whole history of the war overwhelmingly suggests that 500,000 rather than even 250,000 American troops will be needed, in addition to the more than 500,000 South Vietnamese troops. In short, what seems in prospect is turning South Vietnam into an American colony. After all the coups and military takeovers and grandiloquently named "ministries of war and reconstruction" (there was another last week), the Vietnamese in Saigon, military or civilian makes no difference, have failed to create a responsible, durable government.

Notwithstanding some lofty rhetoric we are still trying to "win" the war, not end it. The French probably could have had that kind of victory in Algeria, if not Vietnam, but General de Gaulle wisely preferred to make peace with his enemies. We are stepping up the violence to a level more nearly commensurate with American power, which is staggeringly great. The Viet Cong cannot be physically dug out of the countryside without destroying the country; and by the time they were destroyed half or more of the fleeing villagers would have themselves turned Viet Cong and rightly. The way out of this brutal morass, which causes even the Swedish government and half the British Labour movement to equate Robert McNamara with Herman Goering, is to go at least partly into reverse: Stop the bombing, make clear the US can't begin to quit Vietnam until there is a cease-fire, seek out the National Liberation Front which is the political wing of the Viet Cong, and stop pretending that given a sufficient weight of bombs the Viet Cong will go away. A real Vietnam settlement could be only part of a complex agreement involving Laos, Cambodia, and the 1954 Geneva agreements for Southeast Asia, and extending to China's re-entry into the comity of nations. But a Vietnam cease-fire would be a good beginning.

But perhaps that beginning cannot be made until more of us have a truer perspective of American power and its limits, which is to say, as Pope Paul said to the United Nations, that what we need is a touch of humility. For, in the Pope's words, "It is pride, no matter how legitimate it may seem to be, which provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism. . . ."

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Roll Call in the House

On September 20th, the House of Representatives set off a crackle of resentment throughout Latin America by adopting an unsolicited, and unwelcome resolution, stating, among other things, that the United States may "go so far as to resort to armed force . . . to forestall or combat intervention, domination, control, and colonization in whatever form, by the subversive forces known as international Communism and its agencies in the Western Hemisphere." The House thereby registered its conviction that a) "International Communism" (a handy phrase originating during and appropriate to the Stalin era) is currently threatening Latin America; b) it is Washington's duty not only to intervene when these "subversive forces" dominate or take control elsewhere, but it may exercise domination when it *thinks* they *might*; and c) collective action through the OAS, the UN or whatever is a fig leaf to cover the nakedness of US intervention. Fifty-two Representatives voted no. Four are Republicans; 12 are first-termers; 12 second-termers. Thirteen come from California, 10 from New York. Because the public rarely knows who voted how in the House, we list the 52:

Thomas L. Ashley – D. *Ohio*
Jonathan B. Bingham – D. *New York*
Edward P. Boland – D. *Massachusetts*
Richard Bolling – D. *Missouri*
John Brademas – D. *Indiana*
George E. Brown, Jr. – D. *California*
Phillip Burton – D. *California*
Ronald Brooks Cameron – D. *California*
Jeffery Cohelan – D. *California*
Silvio O. Conte – R. *Massachusetts*
John Conyers, Jr. – D. *Michigan*
James C. Corman – D. *California*
John C. Culver – D. *Iowa*
Emilio Q. Daddario – D. *Connecticut*
John G. Dow – D. *New York*
John J. Duncan – R. *Tennessee*
Ken W. Dyal – D. *California*
Don Edwards – D. *California*
Leonard Farbstein – D. *New York*
William D. Ford – D. *Michigan*
Donald M. Fraser – D. *Minnesota*
Robert N. Giaimo – D. *Connecticut*
Jacob H. Gilbert – D. *New York*
Edith Green – D. *Oregon*
Richard T. Hanna – D. *California*
Ken Hechler – D. *West Virginia*
Elmer J. Holland – D. *Pennsylvania*
Donald J. Irwin – D. *Connecticut*
Robert W. Kastenmeier – D. *Wisconsin*
Robert L. Leggett – D. *California*
John J. McFall – D. *California*
Torbert H. Macdonald – D. *Massachusetts*
Charles McC. Mathias – R. *Maryland*
Spark M. Matsunaga – D. *Hawaii*
Patsy T. Mink – D. *Hawaii*
John E. Moss – D. *California*
Lucien N. Nedzi – D. *Michigan*
Barratt O'Hara – D. *Illinois*
James G. O'Hara – D. *Michigan*
Alec G. Olson – D. *Minnesota*
Richard L. Ottinger – D. *New York*
Ogden R. Reid – R. *New York*
Joseph Y. Resnick – D. *New York*
Henry S. Reuss – D. *Wisconsin*
Benjamin S. Rosenthal – D. *New York*
William F. Ryan – D. *New York*
James H. Scheuer – D. *New York*
Carlton R. Sickles – D. *Maryland*
B. F. Sisk – D. *California*
Frank Thompson, Jr. – D. *New Jersey*
Lionel Van Deerlin – D. *California*
Sidney R. Yates – D. *Illinois*

Wayne L. Hays (D, Ohio) who first announced on the floor of the House that he was opposed to the resolution, ended up voting "present." After the votes had been counted and announced, Cecil R. King (D, Calif.), Charles H. Wilson (D, Calif.), and Floyd V. Hicks (D, Wash.) changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

Dial-a-Diatribe

"Let Freedom Ring," which a year ago was stabbing the National Council of Churches, is now at war against the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. "Let Freedom Ring" is the only identification of a telephone number in various areas which, when called, delivers a one-minute attack on the PTA. In Denver, for example, when you dial 444-2213, a female voice informs you that the PTA is a leftwing group favoring "a complete federalization of the schools in the Russian manner"; that its local members are "sheep to be shorn by the Socialist or pro-Communist PTA national leadership," which is "promoting Socialist or Marxist schemes with the collusion of the federal government."

National PTA officials have objected to the use of Bell System lines and equipment for the recorded attack, and officials of the Colorado Congress of Parents and Teachers, a PTA affiliate, have protested the local recording as "slanderous in the extreme."

Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Co., a subsidiary of AT&T serving Colorado and six neighboring states, has applied to the Colorado Public Utilities Commission for a change in rules that will permit the company to refuse recording service to a subscriber unless the latter is willing to make his identity known if asked. The company had earlier held that it could not curtail the anonymous informer, since he or she breaks no law, uses no profanity, and gives out no gambling information. But that was before "Let Freedom Ring" took on 10 million PTA parents.

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14(b) Filibuster—the Mildest in History

What happens when argument is drained of passion and there is no conviction in appeal? The result must be very like the Senate filibuster on repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which began at noon on October 4 and will last until boredom overtakes all parties: which may be soon.

The Senators for and against invalidation of state "right-to-work" laws took their places like actors on a stage, speaking lines written by others to an audience which for the most part was not listening. It all could have been said 18 years ago, and was. Positions hardened then, when the Taft-Hartley Act was passed by a Republican Congress with the help of Southern Democrats, and nothing has happened in the intervening generation to soften the lines. The Republicans and the Southern Democrats are still for the state option on right-to-work. Now, they can command only 40-odd votes, just enough to filibuster. The Northern and Western Democrats are still against.

What has changed is the context in which the debate is taking place. The fine edge of labor's evangelism was dulled by its own leaders the year the Taft-Hartley Act was passed (over President Truman's veto). For the security of an established place in American life, organized labor sacrificed its position for social change. The young Senate liberals today look more to the civil rights movement than to the labor hierarchy, as the instrument for progress. They will vote for repeal of 14(b) – they are not anti-labor – but they cannot work up much enthusiasm about it. They will not fight day and night to break a filibuster.

Social acceptance for labor also brings a commitment from the biggest industries to maintain the current satisfactory relationships. General Motors has as little interest as the United Auto Workers in upsetting the coexistence, and politicians from industrial states undermine the status quo at their peril. Right-to-work lobbyists get most of their support from small-businessmen and Southerners, who have had little experience with unions and fear that organizing efforts will mean new power for Negroes, higher wages, lower profits, and all of that. They will take no chances – even though the chance that repeal of 14(b) will bring a flood of organization to the South is remote.

Labor leaders of two decades ago cannot communicate their emotional abhorrence of 14(b) to their Democratic friends. It comes out sounding harsh and hostile. The most outrageous example is a letter sent on the eve of the filibuster to many Senators by the International Typographical Union:

"Our patience is about exhausted with being double-crossed and the Senators ought to know that they cannot double-cross the labor movement again and get away with it." If necessary, the letter threatened, "the ITU will take part in mobilizing delegations that will make the civil rights demonstrations look like Sunday school picnics."

That was not composed to make friends, or keep them. Instead, it confirmed the opinion of some Senators, who have had no contact with the furious labor wars of the past, that union leaders are irrational, tyrannical, and undeserving of favors.

Labor's *idée fixe* on 14(b) has annoyed Senators who have different priorities for legislative business. Why isn't extension of coverage and increase in the minimum wage the first order of business? The minimum wage bill, which would be of immediate benefit to millions of workers, has not been reported out of the Senate subcommittee. Labor leaders are on record for it, but they have not devoted major effort to its passage this year.

"Union leaders have been talking about 14(b) as the 'slave labor act' for so long that they have a vested emotional interest at stake in repeal," a liberal Democratic Congressman said last week. "It's a matter of status and prestige."

Most of labor's friends do not share that concern for prestige. Foreign policy liberals are annoyed at labor's disposition to jingoism – on matters such as loading ships for trade with East-bloc countries, and "me-first" expressions of support for military adventures. One New York Democratic Congressman refused to vote for a pro-labor bill because the building trades unions, who would benefit most from it, discriminate against Negroes. Although officially labor supports the national civil rights movement, unions (except for the Teamsters, who are under anathema) have not been leaders in the fight.

It all makes the anti-repeal filibuster very hard to beat. The Democratic leadership, though mindful of its lack of votes for cloture, unwisely waited until every weapon of legislative coercion was disposed of before bringing up 14(b). Senators who might have held out against a filibuster because their pet bill was still untended, or were hoping for something from the pork-barrel, have no good reason for hanging on now. Senator Mansfield, the Majority Leader, does not want to hold around-the-clock sessions; he thinks such grueling schedules may kill off older and weaker members. On the other hand, freshmen members in the House, who went out on a limb for repeal (against their conservative districts), are unhappy at the prospect of another, 14(b) fight next year, so close to election time. A group of them considered sending a House delegation to Mansfield to seek support for an all-out fight. They decided it would be useless.

As the filibuster wore on last week towards a test

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vote on Friday, it began to look like the 1945 World Series between Detroit and Chicago: in the middle of it, a sports writer decided that neither team could win. It was doubtful whether the filibusterers or their opponents could emerge with any feeling of accomplishment. It was probably the mildest filibuster in history. "The only thing that keeps me from voting to drop the whole thing forever," a Northern Democrat said, "is Strom Thurmond on the other side."

Andrew Kopkind

Looking into the Green Stamp Business

Last year Sperry and Hutchinson, the largest of the trading stamp companies, issued more stamps than the Post Office. In fact, some of their stamps went *to* the Post Office. Congressman Lester Wolff (D, NY) has discovered that government agencies, like everyone else, collect trading stamps. The General Services Administration, the buying agent of the federal government, spends about a billion-and-a-half dollars a year. Most of this money goes for wholesale purchases, and wholesalers generally don't give stamps. But for certain things, notably small retail purchases, car rentals, and the servicing of government vehicles, GSA does receive stamps. The agency considers them a nuisance and makes only feeble attempts to keep track of them.

But the stamps are as valuable as money (a book of 1,200 S&H Green Stamps costs service stations in the Washington, D. C. area $3.60), and Rep. Wolff estimates that stamps may raise the price of a consumer product by as much as two to three percent. They are not "something instead of nothing" as the stamp people contend, and they are not free. The government treats them almost as if they were.

A 1960 regulation requires that stamps be turned in to the agency buying them. If the agency itself has no use for them, they are forwarded to a veterans hospital where they can be pasted in books and redeemed for recreational equipment for the patients. But GSA, considering the stamps "more trouble than they are worth," has no provision for the formal reporting of stamps received by its employes and does not count the stamps turned in. An employe is "on his honor" to turn in the stamps, just as he is on his honor not to make personal calls on government telephones; and he is not supposed to take them home to his wife.

In 1962, the last year that a count was attempted, the GSA office for the region covering Washington, D. C., Maryland and Virginia collected only the equivalent of six books of trading stamps – this in an area where there are more than 3,000 GSA vehicles and where about half the service stations give stamps. (Government contracts with most of the major oil companies permit a government driver to stop at just about any station that is convenient). Now GSA makes a rough "count" by putting incoming stamps on a scale. In fiscal 1964 GSA amassed eight pounds of stamps. An agency spokesman said that this was a negligible amount, but that he "had to assume that all of the stamps were being turned in." It is impossible to say just how many of the stamps disappear and how much of a cash loss to the US Treasury this represents.

When Congressman Wolff asked GSA Administrator Lawson B. Knott, Jr., why the government does not execute contracts with retailers providing for a cash discount in lieu of the unwanted trading stamps, Knott replied that such a provision might put bidders not offering stamps in an unfair competitive position.

So the government is saddled with stamps it doesn't really want and doesn't quite know what to do with. Sending them to VA hospitals is just a way of getting rid of them. (A GSA spokesman with whom I spoke muttered something about licking stamps having some "therapeutic" value.)

Moreover, some purchases made with the stamps are dubious bargains. S&H in a national magazine ad it ran early this year asked the rhetorical question, "Is getting stamps better than getting a discount in cash?" and gave itself the expected answer, "Yes, because a customer receives more value from stamps than if she received an equivalent amount of cash. That's because," the ad continued, "stamp companies buy merchandise directly from manufacturers in large volume. In this way, they are able to give the merchant's customers more value in merchandise than if a customer got cash and spent it herself." Price comparisons by critics of the stamp companies do not bear this out. The Greater Washington Service Station Association compared the advertised prices of a number of items in a local department store with the catalog value of the same products. They multiplied the number of books required to buy an item by the $3.60-per-book rate service stations must pay for the stamps they "give" to their customers. A toaster advertised by the department store at $9.99 cost the equivalent of $25.20 in S&H Green Stamps. A blender sold retail at $29.88 cost $57.60 in stamps. A hair dryer advertised at $24.99 cost $43.20 in stamps.

Not all of those who give Green Stamps, however, pay as much for them as service stations in the Washington area do. According to Sperry and Hutchinson a chain of supermarkets doing a large volume of business may pay as little as $2.50 for a book of stamps. A customer who gets his stamps both at his neighborhood grocery store and the service station, therefore, would get stamps costing the merchants, on the average,

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something more like $3.00 a book. This figure would be more in line with the retail prices of merchandise he redeemed his stamps for. And S&H does not buy the premise that the cost of stamps is borne by the customer.

Rep. Wolff, who was at one time himself a consultant to a trading stamp company, has been conducting an informal investigation of the stamp industry. But since it is not an official investigation, and since the stamp people feel their industry has already been investigated enough, they have refused to participate.

DAVID SANFORD

Prohibition's Last Stand

Oxford, Miss.

High priced bootleggers thank their stars for the bone-dry Protestants who for 58 years have helped keep booze underground in Mississippi. Office seekers are grateful for generous cuts from the black-market take. The magnolia aristocracy, their well-liquored clubs by custom outside the law's sober reach, watch passively as pliable sheriffs jail some wets, and "license" others. This year 800,000 cases of black-market alcohol will help magnolia freedom drinkers stomach prohibition. Businessmen deduct their clients' bourbon from state and federal income-tax returns. Since almost any Mississippian can get a fifth somewhere nearby, police payola is an accepted part of the Mississippi Way of Life. Also, some Mississippians make their own booze, so Elliott Nesses must scan lonely hillsides for that telltale wisp of smoke. The Bible Belt State even collects a sales tax from dealers in bottled demon. And legislators are talking about amending the Mississippi Code, not to legalize liquor, but to regulate its unlawful distribution.

Twenty-seven Louisiana wholesalers close to Mississippi's playground Gulf Coast supply 85 percent of Mississippi's liquor. Louisiana knocks off its liquor tax for its black-market neighbor. The Mississippi Tax Commission has arranged for out-of-state suppliers to mail copies of their invoices to Jackson. The Jackson office then bills Mississippi dealers for the sovereign's cut, and stamps the "prohibited" merchandise with "The Great Seal of the State of Mississippi."

Near my apartment "prohibited" merchandise flows freely at the Oxford Country Club. Our sheriff won't disturb the golfers' private oasis. Oxford's town masters permit Negro citizens to open a few beers – and sometimes firewater – at the "nigger nite club" a few miles out of town. Some brave Oxfordians take their flasks to restaurants and have a highball before catfish and hushpuppies, but of course one can never be sure of the sheriff's current fluidity. Home is usually safe from sheriffs. A status symbol in Mississippi is to have more than one icebox full of liquor.

But cars do get searched. When whiskey-buying, two other Ole Miss law teachers and I avoid chance unpleasantries with dry cops by using a backwoods road to Johnny's Store. Local "laws" tap a few non-country club drinkers and Negro bootleggers for fines. Some sheriffs add union organizers, "uppity niggers," and civil rights workers to their dry lists: It's good for political images, and the fines lower property taxes. If the wet culprit is a three-time loser, he may go to Parchman, the state's penal plantation, where the cotton-picking day starts at sun-up and ends at dusk.

At Ole Miss fraternity-house parties are well-oiled and cop-free. Law school parties too. When held in the law building, student lawyers call the refreshments "punch" – a legal fiction made of grapefruit juice and grain alcohol. A former dean of the law school used to say that "prohibition is better than no liquor at all."

A Negro farmer named Clyde Harvey got a lesson in prohibition during the long, hot summer of 1964. Mr. and Mrs. Harvey let civil rights workers stay in their home. One July afternoon officers searched the Harveys' home while they were out for groceries; then they arrested Clyde Harvey without a warrant and charged him with possession. He admitted the two cans of beer found were his; the "jar of whiskey" he denied. Harvey offered to pay his debt to society. The Justice of the Peace took his bond and said he'd let Harvey know later "about the fine." Later, without telling Harvey (who's never been to school) that he could get himself a lawyer, the JP sentenced the Negro criminal to a $500 fine and 90 days in jail. Harvey first learned of his sentence on September 9th – after the 40-day appeal period had expired – when he was again jailed.

Civil rights lawyers (two "outside agitators" and one of Mississippi's three Negro attorneys) got Harvey out after 62 days. The Mississippi Supreme Court and the late Federal District Judge Sidney Mize turned down Harvey's appeal, but the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held Harvey's kangaroo sentence unconstitutional.

In the busy ports and swank resorts along the French-settled Coast, and in blossom-scented river towns like Natchez and Vicksburg, liquor sells openly

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by the drink ($1.25 for bourbon) or bottle. But in Jackson, where law spasmodically rears its teetotaling head, whiskey peddlers camp on the non-capitol side of the Pearl River – at least while the Legislature is in session.

Some counties lower their crime rate by voting for beer and wine in local option elections. A local option solution for whiskey was killed by the 1960 State Legislature – which also voted down a "bone-dry" bill to cut off shipments at the state line. The Legislature met late last summer, but was too shook up over long Negro registration lines to heed the "chaotic conditions" of prohibition. Even if bootleggers and Baptists left legislators alone so they could pass a repeal bill, Governor Johnson, like Barnett before him, would veto it. Oxford wets couldn't even get a majority vote for beer when a wet William Faulkner canvassed the town.

When Mississippians tell "outsiders" they don't understand the Mississippi Way of Life "outsiders" best listen. It's not easy. Consider the nine-percent sales tax on articles "the sale of which are prohibited." Last year's nine percent on whiskey dealers added about $1.5 million to Mississippi's treasury. Each bottle bears a stamp showing the tax paid – else the sale is illegal . . . twice. In addition, wholesalers must pay an excise tax: $4.20 per case for whiskey, $.75 for wine; this brings in another $2 million to the state. Some towns, dissatisfied with their revenue from bootlegger fines, pass ordinances setting license fees. Two cans of beer spell 62 days in jail for one, a tax deduction for another.

Mississippi courts still insist that liquor, since illegal, is not *property*. So if puritans smash every bottle in Biloxi, they smash no *property*, no damage to pay. The Jackson sheriff once went on a dry binge and poured thousands of bottles of expensive *non-property* down the drain. This *non-property* double-talk gets some liquor dealers into trouble. The operator of Tic-Toc Beverages in Warren County claimed two bonded employees stole $10,000 worth of whiskey. The Mississippi Supreme Court said the company that insured against employee theft need not pay off. Not long ago a Louisiana merchant sued a Vicksburg retailer who would not pay for his whiskey shipments. No Mississippi Court would recognize the debt.

Meanwhile, the last word on Mississippi whiskey belongs to a Corinth, Mississippi circuit judge named N. S. (Soggy) Sweat, Jr.

"If when you say whiskey you mean the devil's brew, the poison scourge, the bloody monster, that defiles innocence, dethrones reason, destroys the home, creates misery and poverty, yea, literally takes the bread from the mouths of little children; if you mean the evil drink that topples the Christian man and woman from the pinnacle of righteous, gracious living into the bottomless pit of degradation and despair, and shame, and helplessness, and hopelessness, then certainly I am against it.

"But if when you say whiskey you mean the oil of conversation, the philosophic wine, the ale that puts a song in their hearts and laughter on their lips, and the warm glow of contentment in their eyes; if you mean Christmas cheer; if you mean the stimulating drink that puts the spring into the ole gentleman's step on a frosty, crispy morning; if you mean the drink which enables a man to magnify his joy, and his happiness, and to forget, if only for a little while, life's great tragedies, and heartaches, and sorrows; if you mean that drink, the sale of which pours into our treasuries untold millions of dollars, which are used to provide tender care for our little crippled children, our blind, our deaf, our dumb, our pitiful aged and infirm; to build highways and hospitals and schools, then certainly I am for it.

"This is my stand. I will not retreat from it. I will not compromise."

Kenneth Vinson

Mr. Vinson *is professor of law at the University of Mississippi School of Law.*

Can You Put Up Bail?

The High Price of Civil Rights Protest

Weekend before last, more than 300 civil rights demonstrators, parading against segregation policies, a car-bombing, and the serious injuring of a local NAACP official, were arrested in Natchez, Mississippi, and charged with parading without a permit. Bail was set at $200 for each – over $60,000 in all. Those who could not make bail went to jail; some of the overflow from the local jail were sent 200 miles away to the state penal farm.

This situation is one example of the misuse of bail by police, prosecutors, and judges to choke civil rights protest and to punish demonstrators for exercising their First Amendment privileges. Legal actions against these practices have seldom been effective, although at the request of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice a federal court in Alabama did recently take note of the situation in ordering a sheriff and a Selma judge and city solicitor not to detain certain demonstrators under unreasonable bail.

Frequently, there has been outright denial of bail. Thus, in Americus, Georgia, in the summer of 1963, bail was denied several SNCC demonstrators who had

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been arrested leaving a church meeting and rally and indicted for a capital offense – attempting to incite an insurrection.

More often, bail is set at ridiculously high figures. In Chester, Pennsylvania, the Rev. Clayton K. Hewitt, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Atonement, protested against segregation in the school system. He was arrested, charged with inciting to riot, unlawful assembly and conspiracy, and bail was set at $26,500.

According to a report to the National Bail Conference, a judge in Atlanta required appearance bonds of $3,000, $4,000, and $7,000 for civil rights demonstrators charged with trespass. Two of these bails had originally been set at $300 and $500. In one case involving a motel sit-in, the defendant wound up in jail for two weeks because he could not put up the $4,500 bail set by the judge. An Atlanta clergyman protesting segregation at an Atlanta church was held in jail pending appeal for almost seven months. Bail: $20,000. In the case of mass arrests, the price of justice can come high. For example, many Negroes and whites were arrested protesting against segregation in transportation – already declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court – in Jackson, Mississippi in May, 1961. For those who chose to fight their cases and who wanted to stay out of jail while their cases were appealed, appeal bonds were necessary. The average cost was $1,500 each (verdicts of guilty brought four months' sentences and $200 fines). The total bail cost of pursuing appeal of these cases was $372,000.

Louis F. Claiborne, assistant to the US Solicitor General, has pointed to a "barrage of charges" heaped on demonstrators at a New Orleans theater in March, 1964. Most defendants were required to post $4,500 worth of bonds on eight charges: trespass, resisting arrest, disturbing the peace, refusing to move on, criminal mischief, blocking an entrance, and two counts of contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

Courts can also multiply the number of times bail is exacted: A person charged with one crime for one act of protest can be made to put up bail first to appear at trial, then again to appeal his case, and still again to go through the other appellate processes often necessary to obtain ultimate justice.

In Clinton, Louisiana, Negroes are a majority of the population, but traditionally have not voted. In September, 1963, a letter was sent to the mayor and district attorney signed by 12 elders of the Negro community, proposing a biracial commission to study racial tension in the area. District Attorney Richard Kilbourne called the letter writers criminal conspirators; they were indicted for public intimidation and arrested, their bonds set at $4,000 each. A young CORE worker, Ed Vickery from California, who had actually written the letter, was arrested as a material witness; his bond set at $14,000. The basis for arriving at this figure was that each of the 12 letter signers committed a criminal act and therefore Vickery witnessed 12 separate criminal acts for which $1,000 bail for each was set, and $2,000 more was thrown in for witnessing the conspiracy. Unable to raise the money, Vickery spent weeks in jail.

Most civil rights cases give rise to vague charges such as disorderly conduct, trespass, resisting arrest, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, loitering, parading without a permit, obstructing a sidewalk, refusing to obey a lawful command, and similar nebulous catchalls. Whether or not appellate courts later throw out the charges, they fulfill their purpose of stopping demonstrations, punishing the participants, and enriching local administrations. In one city, a Negro working on voter registration was arrested for driving with a bad headlight and having an improper license. Bond was set at $2,000. In Alabama, a demonstrator was charged with carrying a concealed weapon, a knitting needle, in her pocketbook. In Louisiana, a Negro registration worker was arrested for "disturbing the peace" while sitting quietly in an office waiting for another Negro to complete registration tests. Bond was set at $2,000. In Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1963, hundreds of civil rights demonstrators were arrested for trespass, disorderly conduct, and obstructing the sidewalk. A lawyer active in the cases said: ". . . It cost us $18,000 in fees and court costs for three months' demonstrations. There will be second thoughts before there is a repeat."

Then there is the peace bond, which is applied before any alleged crime or misconduct takes place. Hosea Williams led the demonstration movement in Savannah. A local white woman swore out a complaint asking the court to issue a peace warrant against Williams on the ground that his conduct presented a future threat to her person, property, and security. Williams was required to put up a bond to assure his good behavior. When he did so, more people swore out such warrants; for each, a $2,500 peace bond was required until Williams ran out of money and ended in jail.

Even those who can put up the money may have difficulty getting released. Sometimes, property is required as bail bond, or if property is available, cash or unencumbered property is required, or a separate property is required for each bond even though its value could cover many bonds. One might think the civil rights demonstrations have provided a windfall for bondsmen. But there is some evidence to the contrary. In one case the NAACP wrote to over 300 bonding companies in one state asking for help. Few answered; none wanted the business. RONALD GOLDFARB

RONALD GOLDFARB *is an attorney. His forthcoming book,* Ransom, A Critique of the American Bail System, *will be published by Harper & Row next month.*

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Murray Kempton

The Pope Among Us

"Policemen alternated their Latin responses with objurgations to keep the entrance clear for the sacred Cadillacs; the Mayor had lost his car, and we could feel ourselves in Rome."

Aggiornamento is an ambiguous Italian word that can be impartially used to mean either "dawn" or "postponement." Once employed by Pope John XXIII, it came to mean something like "up-to-date," which could hardly have been Pope John's precise intention. When Paul VI appeared first in New York, windblown, on a platform on the dull, dirty apron of John F. Kennedy Airport, fervently crying his joy at the renewed discovery of America, one's first thought was how cruel the summons to *aggiornamento* can be to the Pope who takes its physical challenge seriously. John XXIII was the first Pope to travel by railroad, but that, after all, was only an *aggiornamento* to the developmental level of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Now a Pope had descended upon us by Alitalia, here one morning and back in Rome the next.

He could not, as prisoner of that gadget the jet, bring much of his usual ambience with him. The beard and the presence of Eugene Cardinal Tisserant was almost the only object Paul could carry to suggest a tradition embracing the desert fathers and the sixteenth century.

The Pope we see in Saint Peter's is set round with flamboyance; yet when the Holy See is vacant, strangers are occasionally shown the empty Papal apartments, and the shock is how bare they are, as pitiless to any man tempted to ease and comfort as some room in a railroad YMCA. We are used then to think of the Pope as presiding amid the splendid, and sleeping amid the sparse. To see him in mean surroundings is like blundering into his personal chamber; and so it seemed an invasion of his privacy to come upon him on any ground so devoid of the smallest concession to the senses as an airport runway. And, since no nation has spent more money on sparse and mean appointments than has the United States, the Pope's whole day with us was never safe from the occasional sense of looking through another man's keyhole.

His welcome was part curiosity, part devotion, all courteous and all cheerful. The devotion was native more to our suburbs than to our city pavements; the Church's proudest laymen live not in the city but in the commuter towns around it; suddenly you recognized that Manhattan is no longer a Catholic island.

Pope Paul had asked to drive through Harlem to bless the worst-used of his separated children; he drove across a One-Hundred-and-Twenty-Fifth Street swept clean and integrated for the first time in memory, a Harlem recognizable because only there did the policemen go on being nasty by habit.

The New York Central still stops at 125th Street on its way in from Westchester and Connecticut, and the sisters on pilgrimage from these places had debarked there with their pupils to stand by the Papal procession. There hung over Harlem from the elevated track a banner carrying the strange device "Scarsdale Welcomes His Holiness." Down below white children thrust out their hands and cried their "evvivas," while behind them the black natives of the quarter, more Baptist than Muslim, looked silently and politely at the swift passage of black Lincoln and red *mantelletta*.

Outside Saint Patrick's, there was an intimate, wonderfully cheerful crush; inside, as a surprise and slight shock to the lower Protestant orthodoxies of the Westchester pilgrims, the congregation broke into applause at the sight of Pope Paul approaching the altar. Walking away afterwards, one came across hawkers morosely intoning "pitchers of the Pope fifty cents." They seemed to be doing very little business. But still there was the comfort that Pope Paul had, after all, brought a little of Rome with him and had for an hour or so transformed a church whose pride is normally overborne by the brutalities of Rockefeller Center across the street into the noisy bazaar of an Italian cathedral.

He had come not for us but for the United Nations, and what history he made belonged to that organization, which has, for the moment, an embarrassment of prestige and a share of history quite beyond its expectations of last summer.

Pope Paul had chosen, out of the ancient prejudice that it is the language of diplomacy, to address the Assembly in French, an especially happy choice because his speech was pacifist and the language, in its gravity and its simplicity, summoned every echo of the French anti-war films of the thirties:

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"Non les uns contre les autres, jamais, plus jamais. . . . Jamais plus la guerre, jamais plus la guerre."

He sounded marvelously innocent of the grounds for quarrel between great nations and, for that reason, the more marvelous for the occasion. Four years ago, the Russians would have darkly searched his text for the ghost of John Foster Dulles; and the Americans would have been wondering whether the Vatican is not a little soft on Communism. Now the United States and the Soviet Union sit together contemplating the barbarities of the Chinese. Pope Paul had fallen perfectly upon the mood of the Assembly and set its key; persons who came to scoff remained to say that he had made the best speech they had ever heard at the UN.

There followed that great Papal Mass for Peace at Yankee Stadium, under a beige canopy directly on the 50-yard line where every remaining Sunday in October the football Giants will gouge and butt and choke their enemies. The beer advertisements had been covered with blue bunting; there were yellow chrysanthemums in beds around the altar platform; still the appointments seemed meager.

Then the children came to the table. We were looking upon boy kings crowned and remembering the little Saint John who drowses asleep in the Bassano *Last Supper*. The Pope held up the host against a night lit by the flashes of cameras held by priests, and on the running track policemen alternated their Latin responses with objurgations to keep the entrance clear for the sacred Cadillacs, and the Mayor had lost his car, and we could feel ourselves in Rome after all.

One departed through the Yankee dugout past the profitless vendors and reflected that the circle had, against all the odds, been made. Pope Paul could not bring us that particular radiance which made Pope John's mere description of a rosary sound like an exultation produced by the surprise of a hummingbird lighting upon his wrist. Pope Paul seems a man of worries more than joys or sorrows; one observer said that he reminds you of the man you have to see in order to get to see the man you want to see.

But this must have been a voyage at least penitential enough to satisfy the most rigorous canons for pilgrimages. The gentlest and most reverent crowds any of us have ever seen in New York were themselves almost a contribution to loneliness; as Pope Paul rode down Madison Avenue to see the President through bluecoats shoulder to shoulder, the scene called back Senator Robert Kennedy's sad observation in his 1964 campaign that most of what any public figure remembers of the face of New York is of the backs of its policemen. Pope Paul's final duty call was to the World's Fair to see his Pietà, as lonely as himself in Jo Mielziner's uncomfortable blue stage lights. Finally, he came out on the Vatican pavilion's balcony to bless the crowd. "Goodbye," he cried, "*Good*bye."

A Moment to Think Anew

Your vocation is to make brothers not only of some but of all peoples, a difficult undertaking, indeed; but this it is, your most noble undertaking. Is there anyone who does not see the necessity of coming thus progressively to the establishment of a world authority, able to act efficaciously on the juridical and political levels? . . . We will go further, and say: Strive to bring back among you any who have separated themselves, and study the right method of uniting to your pact of brotherhood, in honor and loyalty, those who do not yet share in it.

It is pride, no matter how legitimate it may seem to be, which provokes tension and struggles for prestige, for predominance, colonialism, egoism; that is, pride disrupts brotherhood.

If you wish to be brothers, let the arms fall from your hands. One cannot love while holding offensive arms. Those armaments, especially those terrible arms which modern science has given you, long before they produce victims and ruins, nourish bad feelings, create nightmares, distrust and somber resolutions; they demand enormous expenditures; they obstruct projects of union and useful collaboration; they falsify the psychology of peoples.

You must strive to multiply bread so that it suffices for the table of mankind, and not rather favor an artificial control of birth, which would be irrational, in order to diminish the number of guests at the banquet of life. It does not suffice, however, to feed the hungry, it is necessary also to assure to each man a life conformed to his dignity. . . . We know how intense and ever more efficacious are the efforts of the United Nations and its dependent world agencies to assist those governments who need help to hasten their economic and social progress. We know how ardently you labor to overcome illiteracy and to spread good culture throughout the world; to give men adequate modern medical assistance; to employ in man's service the marvelous resources of science, of technique and of organization – all of this is magnificent. . . .

The hour has struck for our "conversion," for personal transformation, for interior renewal. We must get used to thinking of man in a new way; and in a new way also of men's life in common; with a new manner, too, of conceiving the paths of history and the destiny of the world. . . . The hour has struck for a halt, a moment of recollection, almost of prayer; a moment to think anew of our common origin, our history, our common destiny.

from Pope Paul VI's address to the UN General Assembly, October 5, 1965.

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Cracks in the Showcase

San Juan, P.R.

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico – America's "Showcase of Democracy in the Caribbean" – is still riding the crest of a spectacular 20-year boom. On the surface, all's quiet on this small, densely populated island of 2.5 million. Industry, commerce and tourism are humming along. A net per capita income increase of six percent yearly compares favorably with such dynamic economies as West Germany, Japan and Israel. In June of last year the island could for the first time boast of 100,000 factory workers (net income from manufacturing now represents 23 percent of island income, compared with 12 percent in 1940). In 1953, almost 71 percent of Puerto Rico's families earned less than $2,000 a year; 10 years later the percentage had dropped to 44 percent.

Yet all sectors of the population are not moving ahead at the same pace. The poor are getting poorer. A recent study by the Commonwealth Government's Planning Board divides island families into three groups – the 45 percent "lower class," 45 percent "middle class," and the 10 percent "upper class." While in 1953 the poorest 45 percent of the families accounted for 18.2 percent of total income, they now command only a 16 percent share. The top 10 percent of the families now earn 34.5 percent as compared to 35 percent 10 years ago; the "middle" 45 percent have increased their share from 46.8 percent to 49.5 percent. This "middle class" growth is a source of pride to government officials, but they express dismay that most of the gain has been at the expense of the poorest families. Things would not be so bad if public welfare payments were able to supplement the meager income of the poor, but while incomes have risen by 65 percent in the past decade, welfare payments (which average $11.48 per month) have gone up only 37.6 percent. The poorest one-fifth of US families earn 5 percent of total income (this percentage has not changed since the early 1940's) and the poorest one-fifth of Puerto Rican families command 4 percent of island income. But while the poorest US families earn up to $2,800 a year (1961 figures) the poorest one-fifth of Puerto Rican families have a ceiling of $1,125 yearly. This is barely more than $20 a week – or about 50 cents per family member per day – which is hardly enough for food, let alone rent and other necessities.

The solution is twofold: increasing wages at the lowest levels and stiffer taxes on businesses. But over 60 percent of Puerto Rico's manufacturing jobs have been created by the Economic Development Administration (*Fomento*, for short) which attracts US industry, using 10-year tax holidays and lower wage scales as "bait." Thus, the prospect of hikes in taxes and wages seems dim. Recently, when it was announced that Puerto Rico might be affected by a US minimum wage law which would, over a few years fix hourly minimum wages at $1.75, not only local entrepreneurs but government officials scurried up to Washington and pleaded for special handling.

Another crack in the showcase is a naggingly high unemployment rate. About 100,000 new jobs have been created in the past four years, but the island's high birth rate (2.4 percent per year) and the near halt of migration to the mainland have cancelled out these gains. Last year there were 570,000 males between the ages of 14 and 65 who could be considered potential workers (the other 180,000 were either in school, or physically or mentally incapacitated). Of these 570,000, over 12 percent said they were looking for jobs, but without success – and over 9 percent said they were not even looking!

Those "not looking" (in Puerto Rico they are called the *ociosos voluntarios*, or voluntary idle) are heavily clustered in the 14-19 age brackets. A study of this group shows the following startling statistics: in 1960 Puerto Rico had 266,194 males and females between the ages of 14-19. Of these, 163,538 (or more than half) were not in school. And of those not in school, 98,434 were considered "voluntarily idle."

Of course, these youngsters should be in school. But Puerto Rico's Department of Education, which already spends one-third of the island's total budget, is hard put to meet the present demand for education. The shortage of teachers, materials and classrooms is acute. While the students-per-teacher ratio has lowered from 48 in 1940 to 36 in 1964 – and while there are now 16,000 teachers compared with 5,964 in 1940 – Puerto Rico still lags far behind the US in this respect. And though illiteracy has been attacked on a massive scale and is now down to 18 percent (compared with 75 percent at the turn of the century) over six percent of the 14-19 age group is illiterate. Overcrowded schools tend to discourage even the most willing students. At the university level, only 15 percent of college eligible students are attending. This fall, the University of Puerto Rico had to turn away 8,000 qualified applicants (over half of those who applied).

There are hopes that a massive petrochemical complex initiated by two companies – Phillips and Commonwealth Oil – will eventually result in a network of

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subsidiary manufacturing plants and give birth to up to 100,000 new job opportunities. But this is a long-term project, and by 1975 the island will *need* 100,000 new jobs to maintain present levels.

On a small, crowded island when a majority of "have-nots" stand on the sidelines eyeing luxury hotels and high-priced apartment buildings and watching flashy cars and other manifestations of wealth parade by, something's got to give.

Item: Thefts in Puerto Rico have increased 56 percent in the past four years. Since 1962 the population of the island's 14 penal institutions has grown 11 percent. Most homes in residential areas of San Juan and adjacent suburbs have decorative, and necessary, iron grillwork barring windows, doors and porches. One notes the contrast in the southerly Caribbean island of Aruba (located off Venezuela's coastline) which has an even higher per capita income than Puerto Rico's but less crowded conditions, virtually no slums, and a negligible crime problem.

Item: In the late 1940's there were no known drug addicts in Puerto Rico. Last year, Commonwealth Government officials estimated that well over 10,000 island residents were "hooked," one out of every 250 Puerto Ricans. It is estimated that in New York, there are 25,000 addicts who commit 50 percent of the city's crimes and spend from $500,000 to $700,000 daily supporting their habit. If these figures are correct, one can guess that Puerto Rico's addicts were responsible for up to 8,000 of the island's 16,000 crimes in 1962-63 (very few late model cars here still have their original hubcaps, spare tires or radios) and that they now spend up to $200,000 daily on drug purchases. Not only is this disastrous in human terms, but it causes a drain of as much as $60 million a year on the island's economy – an economy which already suffers a serious imbalance of payments ($1.3 billion in imports last year; $918 million in exports).

As though the foregoing problems weren't enough the "status question" further complicates life, diverting much-needed talent and energy away from other matters. Earlier this year, a US-Puerto Rico Status Commission was formed to study the political future of the island. Proponents of Commonwealth, Statehood and Independence paraded forth their facts, figures and feelings. Week after week, Independence advocates are applying pressure in the United Nations for a solution – and advocates of Commonwealth and Statehood are applying all the lobbying power at their disposal in Washington to push their particular cause.

Oddly enough, except for their differing views over the value of US citizenship, the Statehood and Independence advocates are not so far apart. Both claim it is a question of "dignity," that Commonwealth is a limbo-type situation where a citizen cannot fully pledge his allegiance to any one flag (in Puerto Rico both the Star-Spangled Banner and *La Borinqueña* are played at official occasions). One ardent *independentista* recently summed up the feeling when an American kept badgering him, asking him how an independent Puerto Rico could avoid economic ruin. The *independentista* looked him in the eye and said: "Just give me a flag, and a stick to wave it with, and let me worry about the rest."

Something has to be done – regardless of the status question – to "insulate" Puerto Rico from the United States. It is a cruel paradox that the cost of living in San Juan is higher than on the mainland, yet wages are far lower. Also, since US movies, TV and advertising reach the Puerto Rican masses, they are now an integral part of the mainland in terms of values. Even the poorest *puertoriqueño* has essentially the same wants as the middle-class American – a car, house in the suburbs, hi-fi set, etc.

Way back in February 1929, writing in the *American Mercury* a man glimpsed today's predicament when he wrote:

"Saving a culture, even an inferior one, from becoming the monkey of another, even a superior one, is a good in itself. And in the present case it is by no means certain that the heritage shared by Porto Rico is to be unfavorably compared with the heritage to which the blind forces of production and exchange now seek to hook it up. . . . Whether the island is to be semi-independent, like Cuba, or autonomous under some special dispensation of Congress, is a question to be determined by interplay of political and economic interest. But it is certain that it will never be incorporated into the Union as a State save through the operation of cultural forces: that is, not unless, and until, our manner of life and thought has been respectably Americanized. Will this ever come about? Will the island retain its historical personality? An unqualified answer to either of these questions would necessarily fall short of the possibilities. Perhaps a more absurd fate is in store for us. Perhaps we are destined to be neither Porto Ricans nor Americans, but merely puppets of a mongrel state of mind, susceptible to American thinking and proud of Latin thought, subservient to American living and worshipful of the ancestral way of life. Perhaps we are to discuss Cervantes and eat pork and beans in the Child's restaurant that must be opened sooner or later. Perhaps we will try not to let mother catch us reading the picaresque verses of Quevedo. Perhaps we are going to a singularly fantastic and painless hell in our own sweet way. Perhaps all this is nothing but a foretaste of Pan-Americanism."

The writer was Luis Muñoz Marín.

KAL WAGENHEIM

Mr. Wagenheim *has lived in Puerto Rico for five years and is co-editor of the* San Juan Review.

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Modernizing The Soviet Economy

The reform of the Soviet economy proclaimed by Prime Minister Kosygin is an uneasy compromise between the demands of the progressives and the fears of the conservatives. It is inherently unstable. Soon it will have to give way either to a much greater liberalization, which could hardly fail to be reflected in more freedom for the individual, or to a reimposition of a tight planning system, with its rigidity and elements of compulsion that spilled over from the economic into the social life of the country.

For three years now, the progressives have been demanding a reform of the system of planning and controls, which may have been suited to producing the huge masses of steel and oil and crude machines that made up the sinews of national power in Stalin's days, but do so no longer. In the new conditions, Kosygin told the Party's central committee when he presented the reform, there was need for great flexibility and skill in the management and planning of the economy.

Ever since *Pravda* chose to publish proposals for reform by Prof. Yevsey Liberman, a previously unknown provincial economist, it has been generally accepted in the Soviet Union that the system had to be modernized. Opposition persisted, especially among influential party and planning officials with a vested interest in the old system, but the press continued to publish reform proposals, some of them considerably bolder than those made by Professor Liberman.

An almost invariable feature of all the proposed innovations was pressure for introducing profit-making as the main incentive to efficiency and modernization in industry. Under the old system, a factory management was told what goods to produce, and how much; what and how much raw materials to use; how many men to employ; how much to pay them; what their productivity was to be, and so forth. The number of such planning "indicators" varied from 20 to 30. Management was also told to make a profit, and how much. But in the case of some plants – about 20 percent of the total – it was recognized that no profit could be made, and the management was given a "planned loss" figure to which it was expected to keep. The financial rewards and honors went to those managers who produced more than the volume of goods laid down by the planners. This might look very impressive in a report on plan fulfillment, but the goods might not in fact be wanted in such great numbers and as the manager was rewarded for quantity he might, and often did, skimp on quality. A manager could actually be penalized for making a better product.

If, however, the efficiency of the plant were to be judged by the profit it made, management would seek to produce the amount, quality, and types desired by their consumers. Some footwear and clothing factories were put experimentally on this basis. Instead of being told by the planners what to produce, they established direct links with some retail outlets allocated to them, and made goods ordered by the trade on the basis of its estimate of consumer preferences. The experiment was a great success. While other factories were finding it difficult to get rid of output because it was unfashionable or of poor quality, the factories engaged in the experiment could hardly cope with the demand. The experiment received repeated publicity and emphatic praise in the Party press and in specialized economic journals. Kosygin himself said that, in the future, plans would be based on orders sent up by consumers in all branches of industry.

But this most essential element of the experiment – consumer preference – is not even mentioned in Kosygin's speech to the central committee. Nor is profit to be the main indicator of efficiency, but only one of many. True, a few of the more irksome indicators have been dropped. The target fixing the gross *output* of each factory, which was responsible for so much inefficiency in the past, has been done away with. However, it is replaced by a target for the volume of output to be *sold* by the factory. Under this system, a plant producing goods of low quality will find it difficult to get rid of them, and will therefore not fulfill the plan, which requires it to sell a definite quantity of goods. But the plant manager is still to be told by the planners what goods to produce, just as before. He must still not exceed the total wage fund laid down for his factory. He is told how much profit he should make, and how much money he should hand over to the state – as well as how much he may expect to obtain from the state for his needs. He is given targets for the state-financed capital investment to be made by his plant. He is told what raw materials, semi-finished products and new equipment he is to use.

In the past, only half of the Soviet Union's industrial plants were allowed to retain any of the profit they made, and even then they could retain only up to about 10 percent, handing the rest over to the state. There was thus no great incentive to try to make a profit. Now a factory will be allowed to distribute part of the profit it makes in the form of bonuses. It is therefore hoped that the manager will be more concerned to make goods that can be sold more readily, since this will put more money into his own pocket and the pockets of his men by way of distribution from profits,

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over and above the wages and salaries, which will continue to be fixed from outside.

Under the old system, the planners determined what capital investment the plant needed, and they provided the money for it. There was little incentive to ensure that the capital was efficiently used, because it was provided free. Now it will be provided in the form of long-term credits, thus introducing a form of interest on capital. But the rate of interest will be fixed. Capital will not flow to industries or plants likely to make a higher profit, in order to earn a higher return. Therefore, interest will not exercise the function it performs in the capitalist world of regulating the flow of capital in the most desired directions. It is an economically untidy compromise between the Western and Soviet uses of the concept of profit and interest rate, just as the whole reform is a politically uneasy compromise. It cannot last long.

VICTOR ZORZA

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White Papers and Negro Readers

by Margaret Halsey

How many Negroes read *The New York Daily News, The Los Angeles Times, The New York Times?* Presumably, substantial numbers. The audiences of such journals, like the audiences of the television news shows are not segregated. And yet the Negro, already fighting against the neighborhood school and *de facto* segregation in housing has to contend with still another separatist institution – the press. What is usually called The Press – as in "power of" or "freedom of" – is a *white press*, distinctively different from Negro press.

The white press plays two roles in the race situation. First, because Negroes read it, it is one of the agencies through which the pervasive ideas of the culture are introduced into the ghetto. At the same time, The Press unconsciously reinforces white attitudes which make it impossible for the Negro to escape from the ghetto.

One of the pervasive ideas in American society is that publicity is a great healing agent. Once a bad situation has been "exposed" (the belief is), it somehow magically goes away. The Negro cause has had wide publicity in recent years. A good deal of the publicity has been concerned with the funerals of Negro martyrs, but legislation, street demonstrations, voting rights, riots and Negro leadership have had a large amount of journalistic attention, too. In the minds of many middle-class white people, this publicity solves the problem.

Who needs a house if he's got the headlines?

The Negro poor, for their part, have discovered to their subsequent embitterment that despite all the TV, newspaper and magazine coverage of race relations, the rats go right on biting the babies in Harlem. Thus a social phenomenon – the nationwide belief in the curative powers of publicity has increased tension between Negro and Caucasian.

The white press obviously aspires to influence thought, for it employs besides its regular editorial writers whole coveys of commentators, syndicated columnists, writers of "think-pieces," pundits, political experts, etc. But over and over these opinion-makers unwittingly reveal that they write from the white community's point of view and not as spokesmen for the whole Republic. For example, when there are Negro riots, the white editorialists point out that the Negro leaders are middle class and cannot control the Negro poor. But they omit to mention – not out of unscrupulousness, but because it does not occur to them – that there are no white leaders who can control the white poor. Bombings, night riding, beatings up, intimidation and assassination are activities of the white poor which parallel Negro riots, and from local mayor to American President, from local constabulary to the FBI, there have been no white leaders able to control them. A famous political columnist, announcing after the Rochester riots of 1964 that "the black community" must learn to discipline its unruly elements, is voicing the sentiments of a white press.

Similarly, the idea is often put forward in The Press that the Negro should be *worthy* of the vote, whereas in America nobody has to be worthy of the vote. The right to vote is something one is born with if he is an American citizen, and save for convicted felons, it can-

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not be withheld on grounds that one's behavior fails to please. More than that, a vote is something that belongs to an individual as a right. It has nothing to do with a group to which he may belong.

Negroes are adjured by Caucasian journalists to obey "the law of the land," no matter what their grievances, and respect for the law is held up to them by these writers as an obligation which takes precedence over any injury, however lasting or however mortal. Only a bare handful of the political deans and sages remember to add to their exhortation to Negroes the reminder to whites that a law on the books is meaningless if it is not properly enforced. According to Drew Pearson's syndicated column of September 1, 1965, which reads more as if it came from the Negro press than the white, only four registrars had as of then been provided for the entire state of Mississippi. There is supposed to be one registrar per county, and there are 82 counties in the state.

"The law of the land" rhetoric impresses white readers. But must it not convince Negroes that American journalism, insofar as it tries to influence opinion, is basically dedicated to the status quo and the continuing comfort and convenience of white people? Negroes cannot possibly forget that the murderer of Medgar Evers has not been convicted, nor the murderers of Emmett Till, the murderers of the three young civil rights workers and the murderers of countless other Negroes or friends of the Negro. A Negro's experience with, and reaction to, "the law of the land" is different from a white man's, and unless the white reader is also reading the Negro press, he cannot safely feel that he has gotten the full picture.

One liberal white columnist with an otherwise good record for supporting the Negro cause recently stated that "the Adam Powells, precisely because they were Congressmen with power to get things done, are chiefly responsible for the miserable conditions of their own districts." But how much power do ghetto Congressmen have in reality? In the event that Adam Powell had had a vision on the road to Damascus and become quite a different person, could he have cleaned up and regenerated Harlem?

To give them credit, the opinion-makers in the white press rarely themselves maintain that the Negroes are going too far and too fast. But many of them quote with editorial clucking sounds polls which allege that large numbers of white people feel this way, and thus give their readers a kind of crowd sanction for obstructionist feelings – and perhaps actions – about racial equality.

When Negroes march and pray and demonstrate in the streets and cause trouble, they are frequently told – in newspapers white people read – that they are doing their cause more harm than good and that they should take their wrongs to court. The Negro *has* been in the courts for a long time. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 was the culmination of many years' struggle in the courts; and back in the 1930's the NAACP, under the leadership of such men as Walter White, began to fight case after weary case in state and federal courts to end Jim Crow in interstate buses. That was the beginning of the Negro struggle – not given "publicity" until a generation later – for integration in public accommodations.

Law and order is not just a matter of Negroes putting a lid on their anger or blue-coated policemen putting it on for them. To an astonishing extent, Negroes have themselves shown a respect for law and order, behaving with restraint even under severe provocation. But law and order – if they are to be lasting and reliable, rather than momentary and precarious – must have a sound basis in attitudes and feelings.

From Crispus Attucks through Thomas Wentworth Higginson's Black Regiment to the present leaders of the Negro Revolution, Negroes have played a part in American history. But when a Negro who is aware of this sits down in a negotiating situation with a white man who thinks Negroes were merely passive objects for whom Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation, there is a good chance of there being no meeting of the minds. Perhaps there ought to be more Negroes writing for The Press, with full freedom to explain themselves and say what is in their hearts. Then when a white commentator – in paragraphs read by millions of white readers – warns Negroes "not to alienate the white community," a Negro commentator in the adjoining column could remind those same readers that many Negroes live in hourly peril of the uncontrolled white poor, without adequate protection against injury in advance or redress after it has been inflicted.

An Integrated Press

"The Negro Revolution" has become almost a comfortable phrase, so much has it been in people's mouths. Denial of voting rights has had enough coverage so that many whites think that once all the Negroes in the country are free to vote unhindered, the Negro Revolution will have succeeded and will pass from the headlines, to be heard of no more. But Negro leadership of all kinds, both conservative and radical, is aware that that is almost a soap-opera version of the reality. The schools Negro children should be attending have not yet been built. The teachers who should be instructing in those schools have not yet been hired. The housing which should accommodate Negroes exists only in token form. These things cost money. The money can

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be provided in sufficient quantity only by diverting funds from one or more of our current preoccupations – from the space program, from the highway program which supports the automobile industry, or from the war in Vietnam. Negroes have never been included on terms of equality in our socioeconomic system. Spending the money to include them – and there is no other way they can be brought in – will involve a major reconstruction of our society.

The Press is an established institution and as such is not by nature friendly to the idea of drastic social change. But it could contribute substantially to an orderly transition into the future by becoming aware of its own parochial quality. It is within "the power of the press" to make Negroes feel less like voices crying in the wilderness and more like people who are being listened to. It is within the power of the press to open the eyes of white people to their own insularity.

"Nobody Wants to Hear that Nonsense in Harlem"

The following is taken from a conversation between Claude Brown, Author of Manchild in the Promised Land, *and Norman Podhoretz, editor of* Commentary, *heard on National Educational Television's* At Issue *– August 30, 1965.*

PODHORETZ: You would say that nobody really represents the Negro of Harlem, the lower class Negro of Harlem, the kind of people you came up with. Nobody does?

BROWN: There was not one Negro anywhere in the country whom the white power structure could turn to and say: Look, go down there [in Watts] and reason with those Negroes, who – who are running havoc in the streets. . . . I don't know if it had the effect of showing to the white power structure that the Negro masses were not represented in all of their dealings, negotiations, and signing of bills . . . but it should have. It should have shown the white power structure that Negro masses are not represented, and have not been represented. . . . They weren't going to listen to any comedians. They weren't going to listen to any Roy Wilkinses, Martin Luther Kings, Whitney Youngs.

PODHORETZ: Did it surprise you at all when no riots occurred in Harlem or were triggered in Harlem after the Los Angeles riots?

BROWN: Look, everybody who is in authoritative positions are actually ignorant of what riots are all about, of why the people are out there in the streets. It's like this idiotic thing that Mayor Wagner did, and when we had the riot here in Harlem last summer, what does he do? If he had any kind of courage, if he were a competent Mayor, what he would have done was to have made a public announcement, addressing the Harlem community, and stating that he would be at a specified location at some future time in the near future, and he wanted all the disgruntled rioters to appear there and voice their grievances. This was the way – this was the way for him to deal with the problem. But . . . he acted like an idiot – he calls down South for Martin Luther King. Who the hell is Martin Luther King in Harlem? You mean that old Southern preacher who is always going around talking about peace? Nonviolence? Let Ku Klux Klansmen hit you over the head with sticks, hang you, shoot you? Nobody wants to hear that nonsense in Harlem. Harlem is not a passive community. People are violent. They've known violence all their lives. . . . A riot is . . . like the last resort, you know, of the hopeless. Well, in Harlem, in Los Angeles, in those riots, the reason they couldn't find anybody to talk to those people, is because they've neglected them too long.

PODHORETZ: Well, that's a tricky question, this business of the riots . . .

BROWN: It isn't tricky, it isn't tricky. It's because you have never looked at it before. Nobody's ever looked at it, and as long as we can quiet it down nobody wants to look at it. The riots are a good thing . . . they had the best idea in Los Angeles that anybody's had about any of the ghettoes yet. Burn it to the ground. There's nothing tricky about it. It's pretty nice.

PODHORETZ: Would you like Harlem burned to the ground?

BROWN: It would be a great idea.

PODHORETZ: To burn Harlem to the ground?

BROWN: Yeah, to burn Harlem to the ground and rebuild it.

PODHORETZ: Well not really burn it. But bulldoze it or rebuild it.

BROWN: Just demolish it. Whichever you prefer.

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Education: What Next?

Where We Stand and Where We're Going

by Christopher Jencks

The passage last spring of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has already assured the 89th Congress of a place in the history of American education. As reported earlier (see "LBJ's School Program," *NR*, February 6, 1965), this 1.3 billion dollars a year Act established a mechanism for siphoning potentially unlimited amounts of federal money to needy local school districts. The Act was drafted in such a way as to encourage local districts to narrow the gap between rich and poor, damp down tension between Catholic and non-Catholic parents, and bring new kinds of teachers and new ideas about teaching into their classrooms.

It is still too early to tell whether any of these objectives will be reached through federal legislation. After hustling the Johnson proposals through in record time last spring, Congress waited until September to appropriate funds with which to make the new laws operative. As a result, the legislation has had almost no impact on school programs for this year. Nor is it easy to be optimistic even about next year. The new Act calls for a major shakeup in local school systems. Instead of designing the system for middle-class students and then offering a cut-rate, watered down version of it to the poor, schoolmen are being asked to design a system specifically for the poor and spend *more* on it than they do on the middle classes. Only a dunce could suppose that the majority of local schools will undertake this shake-up spontaneously. They would move only if the reformers offered them a well-designed plan, and if the US Office of Education made it clear that nothing less would suffice to pry loose federal funds. So far, neither condition is being fulfilled.

The problem of transforming poor schools is closely analogous to that which confronts the Office of Economic Opportunity in trying to promote "community action" against poverty. The roots of poverty, like the roots of slum schools, are very deep. It would take a major social upheaval to eliminate either, and the idea that such an upheaval could be sponsored by the federal government is somewhat questionable. But at least the strategists of the poverty program recognized the difficulties and girded themselves for battle. To begin with, they campaigned for and obtained legislation which gave them enormous power, both to stimulate and help formulate nominally "local" proposals, and to withhold money when proposals failed to live up to the standards and ideals of the Act. But when it was suggested that educational reformers would need similar powers, the Office of Education took the "realistic" view that Congress and the National Education Association would never stand for it. They sought and obtained legislation which left initiative at the local level and the power to veto largely with the states.

Even in those areas where the Office has a free hand, it has refrained from using it. The Office has, for example, money for "research and demonstration" projects. In other government agencies such "free money" is seen as a heavenly opportunity. Agency officials beat the bushes for potential grantees who are willing to "demonstrate" ideas which the agency itself thinks likely to be both effective and contagious. The Office of Education initiates almost nothing. Most of its "R & D" money goes to projects designed not so much to solve the problems of the public schools (e.g., better vocational training) as to answer the questions which now head the agenda of the discipline in which the applicant has made, or hopes to make, a reputation (e.g., studies in occupational sociology). Sometimes the concerns of the academicians prove relevant to the schools, but often not.

My own guess is that the Office of Education will administer the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in much the same spirit as the anti-discrimination section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act has been administered – very cautiously. USOE officials do believe in both innovation and integration. But they do not believe that either is indispensable. They do not even believe them important enough to risk one's political life for. So when it comes to a choice between letting the local system do what the local balance of political power dictates or cutting off federal money, the Office of Education can be expected to get along by going along (witness the Office's recent decision to withhold federal funds from Chicago, followed by its backing down as soon as Mayor Daley called the White House). That is undoubtedly just what Congress intended. The

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defenders of localism ought therefore to be pleased.

When one turns from elementary and secondary to higher education, the horizon looks rather different. President Johnson's higher education bill is now in a Senate-House conference, and barring unforeseen mishaps should be signed into law within a couple of weeks. On its face, it is a far less exciting piece of legislation than the Elementary-Secondary Act. But it includes two new departures which might turn out to be highly significant. The first of these is undergraduate scholarships for the poor; the second is the National Teacher Corps.

Actually, the Teacher Corps is designed to help the elementary and secondary schools, not the colleges, and the reasons for its inclusion in the Higher Education bill are of some interest. Proposals for a National Teacher Corps have been floating around for more than a year. The idea was to create a federally sponsored Corps which would make teams of specially trained teachers available on invitation to poor schools throughout the country. Each team was to consist of an experienced "master teacher" who would be a career employee of the Corps, and three or four "apprentice teachers," who would be recent college graduates appointed for two years. The proposal was designed to achieve a variety of related objectives. It would be the nucleus of a kind of Educational Extension Service, for the teachers would be trained under federal auspices, would be up on the latest educational ideas, and would be able to introduce these ideas into the schools they served in. By using teaching teams with four or five members the Corps would ensure that innovators in bad schools were not so isolated or overwhelmed that they simply gave up. At the same time, the teams would provide a completely new kind of teacher training, one emphasizing apprenticeship and supervised teaching instead of the accumulation of credits in education. Having the imprimatur of the federal government, and the prestige and visibility which went with participation in the Corps, apprentices might after a couple of years be able to land regular teaching jobs and get certification without the usual nonsense about courses in audio-visual aids. Finally, the creation of a federal career service for "master teachers" would do a great deal to solve one of the pressing problems of education, namely the recognition and reward of unusual teaching talent. The idea was to provide gifted teachers, especially men, with a way to earn a good living without becoming administrators.

When efforts were made to sell the idea to the Office of Education for inclusion in the Elementary-Secondary Act, the idea was vetoed. The Office didn't want to revive the church-state controversy, upset its uneasy truce with the NEA, or seem to confirm conservative fears of a "federal takeover."

Its advocates persisted, however, and last spring, after the Elementary-Secondary Act was already passed, Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D, Wis.) became interested in the Teacher Corps idea. So did Edward Kennedy (D, Mass.). In due course, the Nelson and Kennedy staffs worked out a joint proposal which, while eliminating some of the potentially controversial features of the scheme, still promises to serve a number of useful purposes. Their plan won the support of Wayne Morse, the chairman of the Subcommittee which was dealing with education legislation, and Morse made it clear to the Administration that he would tack some version of the Teacher Corps onto the Higher Education bill.

At this point President Johnson announced that *he* would propose a National Teacher Corps to Congress. Unfortunately that bill, drawn up by the Office of Education and the Bureau of the Budget and sent to Congress, left the Commissioner virtually no control over the Corps, except recruitment. It handed training over to the very schools of education which the original proposal was trying to escape. It eliminated the hope of lively recruiting by requiring every volunteer to promise to remain in teaching for five years. It allowed the local schools to take individuals rather than teams. It eliminated the career service for master teachers. Most serious of all, it provided that the salaries of Corpsmen would be paid not by the federal government but by local school districts, reducing to almost zero their incentive to apply.

Fortunately, the Senate has stuck to the Nelson-Kennedy version, and as this is written the best guess is that the House will accept this version in conference. The Office of Education continues to promote the weaker version, however, and there is still a chance that the House Conferees will insist on postponing the whole issue until next year.

Federal Scholarships

The federal scholarship program in the bill nearing passage has such a strict means test that it will affect higher education only marginally. The great majority of financially eligible students never even graduate from secondary school, and therefore cannot be gotten into college by any conceivable scholarship program. There is reason to hope, however, that the legislation about to be approved will be amended next year, so as to help not only the very poor but the much larger numbers of high school graduates who come from blue and white collar families of moderate means. These students do not need scholarships as urgently as the poor do. By working part-time, attending a public commuter college, and borrowing against future earnings, they can get through. But it takes unusual ability and dedication to do that, and most drop by the wayside before graduation. There are some members of Congress who feel that only extraordinary youngsters

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should be able to make it in America. But the Administration does not feel that way. With a big push next year it could probably get a scholarship program with a flexible means test, comparable to the one which has been successfully used for nearly a decade by the College Scholarship Service (and through the CSS, by most leading private colleges). Ideally, such a program should guarantee every student who can get into college (and stay in) enough money to cover both tuition bills and subsistence. It could cost several billion dollars a year.

Why Not Higher Tuition?

The principal argument made against any publicly financed scholarship program is that it would encourage colleges to raise their tuition charges. This suspicion is well-founded, but hardly damning. Most colleges now charge artificially low tuitions, in order to remain (or at least seem to remain) accessible to low income families. If the federal government took over more of the burden of financing low-income students, both public and private institutions would almost certainly raise their tuition to more realistic levels. But whom would this hurt? Not the low-income student who would be getting vastly more money in the form of scholarship assistance from the federal government than he would be paying out in tuition. The difference would enable them to pay for room, board, clothes, books, transportation and the other expenses which loom so large that many poor boys now give up in despair. For many, scholarships would make a decisive difference, either between going to college and not going or between graduating and dropping out. Not only that, but scholarships would provide the student from a low or moderate income family with a much better chance of getting a good education. The additional tuition his college collected, both from him and from more prosperous classmates, would help it pay more competitive salaries, offer more small classes, set up undergraduate seminars and tutorial programs, expand libraries and laboratories.

The only losers if tuition is increased would be the upper income families which would not qualify for scholarship assistance, even under a generous formula, and would no longer be able to educate their children at an artificially depressed rate.

A massive scholarship program might have virtues other than redistributing tax benefits. By shifting the emphasis from the support of institutions to the support of individuals, it might give somewhat higher priority to the need of many undergraduates for subsistence stipends. By failing to provide such support, even to the very needy, the present system encourages all but the affluent to attend commuter colleges which enable them to live "on the cheap" at home. But for many such students getting away from home is the *sine qua non* of intellectual growth. A nation as rich as America ought to aim at providing every student who can benefit from it enough money to attend a *residential* college if he wants to. A scholarship program seems to me the most politically promising way to move in this direction.

Another potential advantage of a massive scholarship program is that compared to institutional subsidies it ensures a maximum return to the taxpayer on a minimum investment. Scholarships provide subsidies only for those who need them, while encouraging institutions to extract something approaching the full cost of education from those who can afford to pay. If, for example, a $1 billion federal scholarship program made possible tuition increases averaging $300 per year, the colleges would wind up with $1.5 billion per year extra to spend on education.

Still another advantage of scholarships is that they would provide millions of students with a real choice about the college they attend. For those who see the local commuter college, publicly controlled and publicly financed, as a symbol of democracy, the creation of such options may seem deplorable. Certainly if students were given a freer choice, many of them would opt for the private sector. This would, however, reflect more than mere snobbery. Only in the private sector can a student get a church-related education, escape the sometimes questionable pleasures of co-education, attend college with undergraduates from all over the country, or find a college in which his classmates are almost uniformly brilliant. More generally, the student who wants a small or academically homogeneous institution is only likely to find what he is looking for in the private sector. If he can only afford a public institution he usually has to go to a big, "impersonal" and heterogeneous campus, and a create a way of life for himself within the academic metropolis which makes him feel comfortable and at home. Some students are eager to do this, and some are successful at it. But just as many adults prefer a small town or suburb to the complexity and ambiguity of a great city, many students want a college which structures their lives to some extent for them rather than forcing them to create their own world in four crowded years. The choice should be left to individuals, and not just the affluent. The only way to achieve this seems to be to provide scholarships which enable students to attend either publicly or privately controlled colleges.

Perhaps the most important virtue of a scholarship program, however, is that it takes no political heroism to administer it competently and ensure that it achieves its purposes. It is the kind of program which the US Office of Education thrives on. For that reason, I think, scholarships should be given top priority on the Administration's education agenda for 1966.

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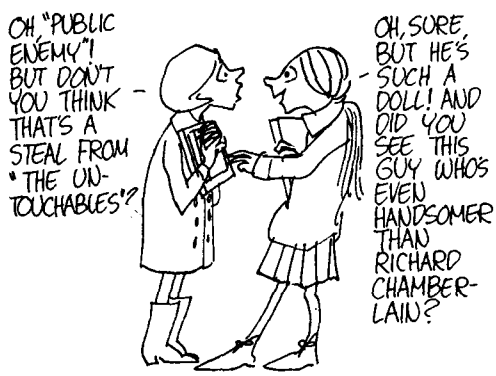
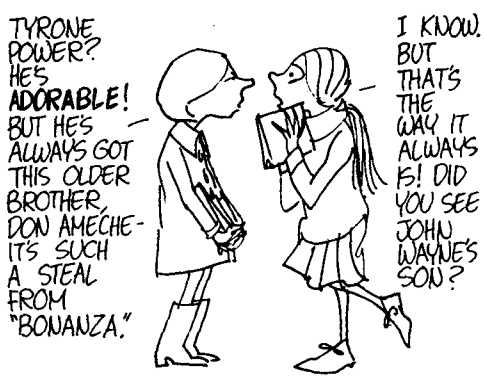
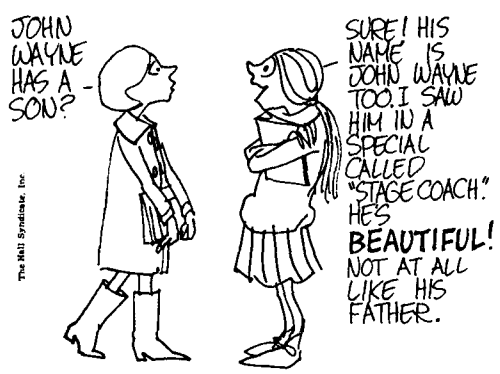
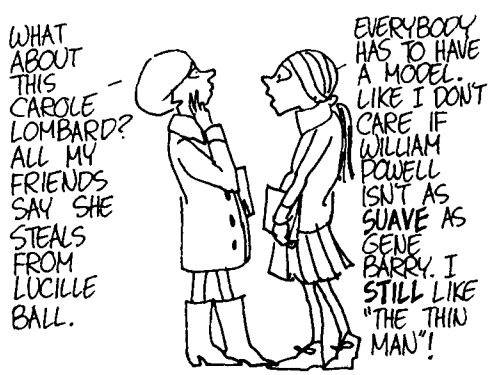
JULES FEIFFER

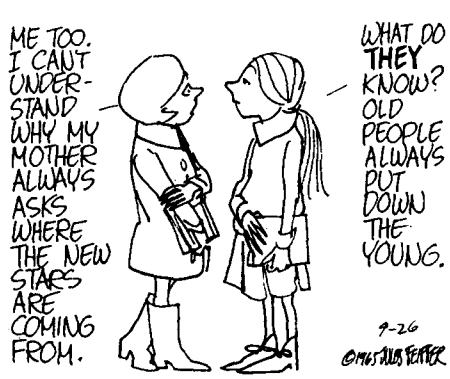
WHO'S YOUR FAVORITE TELE-VISION STAR?
WELL, LAST SEASON IT WAS DAVID McCALLUM, BUT THIS SEASON I'M ALLOWED TO STAY UP LATER AND FOUND SOMEBODY NEW. JAMES CAGNEY.


OH, "PUBLIC ENEMY"! BUT DON'T YOU THINK THAT'S A STEAL FROM "THE UN-TOUCHABLES"?
OH, SURE, BUT HE'S SUCH A DOLL! AND DID YOU SEE THIS GUY WHO'S EVEN HANDSOMER THAN RICHARD CHAMBER-LAIN?


TYRONE POWER? HE'S ADORABLE! BUT HE'S ALWAYS GOT THIS OLDER BROTHER, DON AMECHE-IT'S SUCH A STEAL FROM "BONANZA."
I KNOW. BUT THAT'S THE WAY IT ALWAYS IS! DID YOU SEE JOHN WAYNE'S SON?


JOHN WAYNE HAS A SON?
SURE! HIS NAME IS JOHN WAYNE TOO. I SAW HIM IN A SPECIAL CALLED "STAGE COACH." HE'S BEAUTIFUL! NOT AT ALL LIKE HIS FATHER.
The Hall Syndicate, Inc.


WHAT ABOUT THIS CAROLE LOMBARD? ALL MY FRIENDS SAY SHE STEALS FROM LUCILLE BALL.
EVERYBODY HAS TO HAVE A MODEL. LIKE I DON'T CARE IF WILLIAM POWELL ISN'T AS SUAVE AS GENE BARRY. I STILL LIKE "THE THIN MAN"!


ME TOO. I CAN'T UNDER-STAND WHY MY MOTHER ALWAYS ASKS WHERE THE NEW STARS ARE COMING FROM.
WHAT DO THEY KNOW? OLD PEOPLE ALWAYS PUT DOWN THE YOUNG.
9-26
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Anatomy of Perversion

by Robert Coles

Neither old-fashioned charity nor the psychological sophistication supposedly characteristic of our time has yet enabled many of us to consider the so-called "sex offender" sympathetically, or even with a fair-minded willingness to match outrage with logic. Instead, notorious news stories linger in our minds, bolstering our view of sex offenders as mean, violent, perhaps not people at all but animals in disguise. Even "justice" does not seem a word that describes their due – for thieves and swindlers, extortionists or even murderers, yes; but those who would molest the young or be found in strange and bizarre pursuit of sex deserve a kind of special banishment.

Sex Offenders
by Paul Gebhard, John Gagnon, Wardell Pomeroy and Cornelia Christenson
(Harper and Row; $12.50)

Since we want to put the whole unattractive matter out of our minds it is rather doubtful that this most recent book from the late Alfred Kinsey's Institute for Sex Research will attract the attention lavished upon that group's earlier reports dealing with such ordinary species as the "human male," (1948) and the "human female" (1953) or such ordinary phenomena as those listed in the title *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion* (1958). If that happens, a real occasion for enlightenment will have been missed. The public badly needs to know precisely what sort of people sex offenders are, and this book goes a long way toward supplying the information.

Before the turn of the century encyclopedists like Kraft-Ebbing had started cataloguing the surprising directions man's sexual interests can take. Then came Freud, and the horror his writings stirred in upright, pious people. The opposition to him – you have to read the discussions of his work written in 1900 or 1910 to comprehend the alarm he caused – was part of the death throes of Victorian sexuality, its unnatural and implacable craving for anonymity showing just how devious prurience can be.

The Kinsey Report somehow made it all official. Writers, after all, have their fads; and Freud was only one man writing about *his* patients, and they middle-class Viennese. In contrast, what can normal, red-blooded American men (and their normal, blushing wives) do with a *scientific* study, emanating from the Hoosier state, filled with facts and statistics meticulously gathered from scores of people?

Yet, as Lionel Trilling then pointed out at the end of his critical essay in *The Partisan Review:* "... The Report by its primitive conception of the nature of fact quite negates the importance and even the existence of sexuality as a social fact." This fault Dr. Kinsey's successors have taken pains to correct, so that *Sex Offenders* has a much wider social and cultural relevance than its predecessors, ironic in view of the public's continuing reluctance to see the existence of a problem in how we define sex offenses and how we deal with those who commit them.

If that reluctance is a mask for nervousness, then it is a nervousness at least justified by the various conclusions the book offers, none of which individually is so surprising but all of which together show our consistent cruelty and dishonesty. We do not want to know what this book has to tell: sex offenders not only show us how twisted thinking can come to deed, they also stand as examples of what the environment does to human development. Specifically, the offenders are predominantly poor, badly educated people, unlikely to know how to seek out medical help, avoid arrest, fight arraignment, defeat conviction, or obtain the solicitude of prison officials or the rest of us.

Right off the important definition is made that sex offenders are not only people who do what society has declared illegal, but also those who get caught and are then "legally convicted." After limiting their field of inquiry, the authors go on to a long exposition of the methods used in their research, the gist of which is the comparison of three

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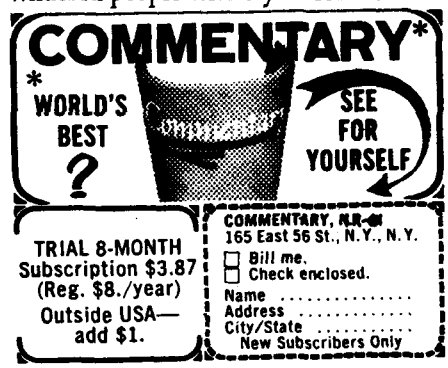
groups of white men over 16, one made up of sex offenders, one of prisoners serving time for other crimes, and one of "controls," that is "ordinary" people without histories of imprisonment for any cause. The interviews were done over many years; they were long and complicated ones which tried to probe the individual's social and economic background, his early family life, his feelings about himself and those with whom he has lived, his attitudes toward a variety of sexual practices and of course his specific experiences with those practices.

The chapters fall into line according to categories of offenses: heterosexual but nonviolent offenders against children, against minors (aged 12 to 15) and against adults, followed by those who use force against the three groups; then there are similar subdivisions for incest and homosexuality; and finally come the more exotic types, the peepers, exhibitionists, masqueraders and fetishists. In each case we learn a good deal about the typical background of the offender and what distinguishes him from other prisoners and from the control group of presumably "normal" men, that is men whose fantasies or unconscious strivings do not get translated into actions and arrests. At the end there are a number of short chapters in which the diverse information is sorted out and closely examined in the hope of coming nearer to a comprehension of who does what and why, though the authors readily admit they have found no final answers.

There are, however, some rather interesting points made. Contrary to popular notion, sexual crimes are by no means likely to be associated with force, violence, drug addiction or even exposure to the stimulation of pornographic literature. In large measure those who molest children are sad, lonely, bewildered people who try to fondle rath-



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er than in any sense rape them, and usually bungle the effort, attract attention, and invite the arrest they may unwittingly want. Those convicted of incest tend to be rigid, puritanical people, and also desolate rural people.

Additionally, sex offenders do not become progressively more dangerous or more broadly criminal – there is even strong evidence to the contrary, that many of them learn to live discreetly with their problems and avoid further arrest. In the more "normal" and common offenses, such as molesting older girls and women, the person bothered is usually *not* a stranger, but someone familiar or even well known to the offender, the vast majority of whom are thus anything but wild men on the loose, randomly and impulsively setting upon any convenient passerby. Our law books are filled with vague and senseless words like "sexual psychopath" which fail in their chief purpose, to distinguish between orders of crime and sorts of men. Very few states really try to find out which offender is actually dangerous.

Finally, while *all* prisoners (whether for these offenses or others) have in common "poverty, emotional and material deprivation, familial and employment instability, and lesser education," there is no special or inclusive way to characterize sex offenders psychologically, particularly since it is the frequently capricious attitude of the law that determines what is called a crime and what isn't.

Where does this book with its near thousand pages of information and analysis leave us? For one thing, we have an important body of systematic research, including a large number of references to work done by other social scientists. We also have the clear recommendation that "our society may solve many of its sexual problems by following the suggestions made by various groups such as the American Law Institute and the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, that sex law be confined to: 1) cases where force or threat was employed, 2) cases involving sexual activity between an adult and a child, or 3) cases of sexual activity or solicitation so open as to constitute a public nuisance."

By no means are such rational and humane recommendations apt to be acceptable to large numbers of people in this country, including a formidable array of politicians, police officials and judges. Indeed, many signs point in precisely the opposite direction. All over the country educators have to fight to keep even accepted classics on their reading lists, so "dangerous" and "corrupting" is any talk of sex, no matter how "normal." What is more, the rhetoric on the subject of crime is appalling. We are constantly warned that our morals are slipping, our criminals are increasing, our homes and streets are everywhere in danger – from abroad, from across the railroad tracks, from the alien philosophies we have allowed a hold on us.

No one is easier to parade as an example of all these "corruptions" than the sex offender. In the South he is mentioned in the same breath with the civil rights workers and the Communists. In the North he is one of the polyglot discontents who afflict us – they have beards, they ignore flags and think of everyone as a brother, they are bookish, they worry about something called "civil liberties," they constantly seek to undermine our public prayers, or our police, or our country, right or wrong. Somehow we must rid ourselves of all of them, and of their sympathizers, those who are "soft" when "hard" means everything from patriotic and loyal to normal. It is all very dismaying.

Any doctor who has treated these sex offenders knows them for the frightened, guilty, commonly harmless people they are. (Many feel more worthless and blameworthy than their most severe critics would have them.) This book confirms what clinicians have noticed, and in addition puts the whole problem in a very distinct environmental perspective. Yet, rehabilitation programs are begrudged adequate funds, and thousands of sex offenders are treated as if they all were responsible for the violence committed by a handful. At the same time we repeatedly ignore tax cheats (the laws that cater to them make sure *they* are not called criminals), an assortment of dishonest speculators and lobbyists, manufacturers of ill-tested drugs, or whole groups whose members regularly snipe at and murder, exploit, slander or merely want to exclude their fellow men.

Such is the irrational, arbitrary capacity of our minds – a far greater danger than the sex offender, whose presence is but handy bait to people looking for distraction, for vengeance, for anything except an honest look at themselves and the world around them.

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Three Poems

by Robert Graves

When a Necklace Breaks

Two lovers sat together under a tree
When suddenly he spoke in a loveless voice –
She answered him as a true woman should,
And the dog howled at their feet.

When a necklace breaks and the beads spill,
Bouncing and rolling across the parquet floor
That is no fatal sign, only a warning
To gather, count, rethread.

Common danger can knit together in love
Almost any desperate human pair;
But the danger gone, they will part silently,
To forget each others' names.

You are good, you are indeed a good sword,
True steel welded and tempered without flaw,
Fit only for a King at his coronation –
Must my scabbard wear a worse?

Up rose the sun, blazing in at the window:
If you honor me as you say, why do you spend
All night in talk and, at my first appearance
Sleep almost till I set?

A Shift of Scene

To lie far off, in bed with a foul cough,
And a view of elms and roofs and six panes' worth
Of clear sky; here to watch, all the day long,
For a dove, or a black cat, or a puff of smoke
To cause a shift of scene – how could it do so? –
Or to take a pen and write – what else is there
To write but: "I am not dead, not quite, as yet
Though I lie far off, in bed with a foul cough
And a view of elms and roofs and six panes' worth
Of clear sky"? Tell me, love, are you sick too
And plagued like me with a great hole in the mind
Where all those towers we built, and not on sand,
Have been sucked in and lost; so that it seems
No dove, and no black cat, nor puff of smoke
Can cause a shift of scene and fetch us back
To where we lie as one, in the same bed?

The Impossible

Dear love, since the impossible proves
  Our sole recourse from this distress,
Claim it: the ebony ritual-mask of no
  Cannot outstare a living yes.

Claim it without despond or hate
  Or greed; but in your gentler tone
Say: "This is ours, the impossible," and silence
  Will give consent it is ours alone.

The impossible has wild-cat claws
  Which you would rather meet and die
Than commit love to time's curative venom
  And break our oath; for so would I.

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Lindsay the Daring Young Man

by Gerald W. Johnson

Acton asserted that "when Christ said: 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's,' those words . . . were the repudiation of absolutism and the inauguration of freedom."

Perhaps; but more than seventeen centuries passed before any important nation wrote that moral precept into the civil law, and nearly two centuries later even that nation has to fight constantly to make it stick. In the latter half of the 20th Century an American politician, John V. Lindsay, has actually made a career out of defense of the enactment – such, at least, is the opinion of Lindsay's latest biographer, Daniel E. Button, who offers impressive evidence in support of his view. Moreover, that career has been such a success as to make the man a national figure; and the experts agree that one more spectacular victory will push him into the front rank of national figures. He is now trying to achieve that victory as the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York City.

Lindsay: A Man for Tomorrow
by Daniel E. Button
(Random House; $4.95)

On form – there are three registered Democrats to one Republican in New York – it seems to be a forlorn hope, and outside observers have suspected that in undertaking it Lindsay displayed a political ineptitude that disqualifies him for consideration for high office. On this point Button is clear and highly persuasive – Lindsay really had no choice; he was trapped by his own success. In 1964 he not only withstood the Democratic landslide, but emerged with a stunning 70 percent of the vote in his district, although Lyndon Johnson swept that district along with the rest of the nation.

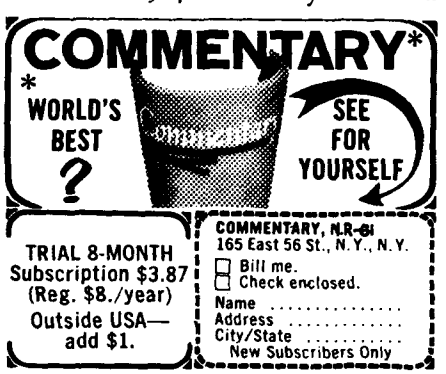
This put him at the very top of the heap of vote-winners, and when you are on the summit there is no way to go but down. If he had run for Congress again and won by 65 percent – more than Johnson got in the nation – still people looking back to 1964 would say, "Oh, oh! Lindsay's beginning to slip," a comment that has wrecked many a political career. But no such deadly parallel can be drawn against him as a candidate for Mayor; on the contrary, if he wins by 51 percent, he will have performed another miracle outshining that of 1964.

Logically, he should have tried for the Senate or the Governorship; but Javits blocked off one, and Rockefeller the other. So he goes for the Mayoralty, fully cognizant of the fact that the New York City Hall is notoriously a graveyard of political hopes. He does, however hold a pair of tens in that the fearsome Wagner is out, and the Tammany Tiger is afflicted with a bad case of the mange. It is following the reckless course of trying to beat somebody with nobody.

So there is a definite chance that Lindsay, though the New York newspaper strike has hurt him, may win. That would make him, in the eyes of Republicans north of Spuyten Duyvil and west of Arthur Kill, not simply the Mayor of New York, but Jack the Giant Killer, and possibly the Resurrection Man destined to exhume the elephant. He would be a VIP indeed.

This gives Mr. Button's account of him more than a parochial interest. It should be said at once that it is uncritical and somewhat, but not intolerably effusive; to balance which it cites chapter and verse for most of its claims. It may be classified as a campaign biography of the better type.

It successfully refutes his enemies' claim that Lindsay is really a Kennedy Democrat, but it hardly establishes his own claim that he is a Lincoln Repub-



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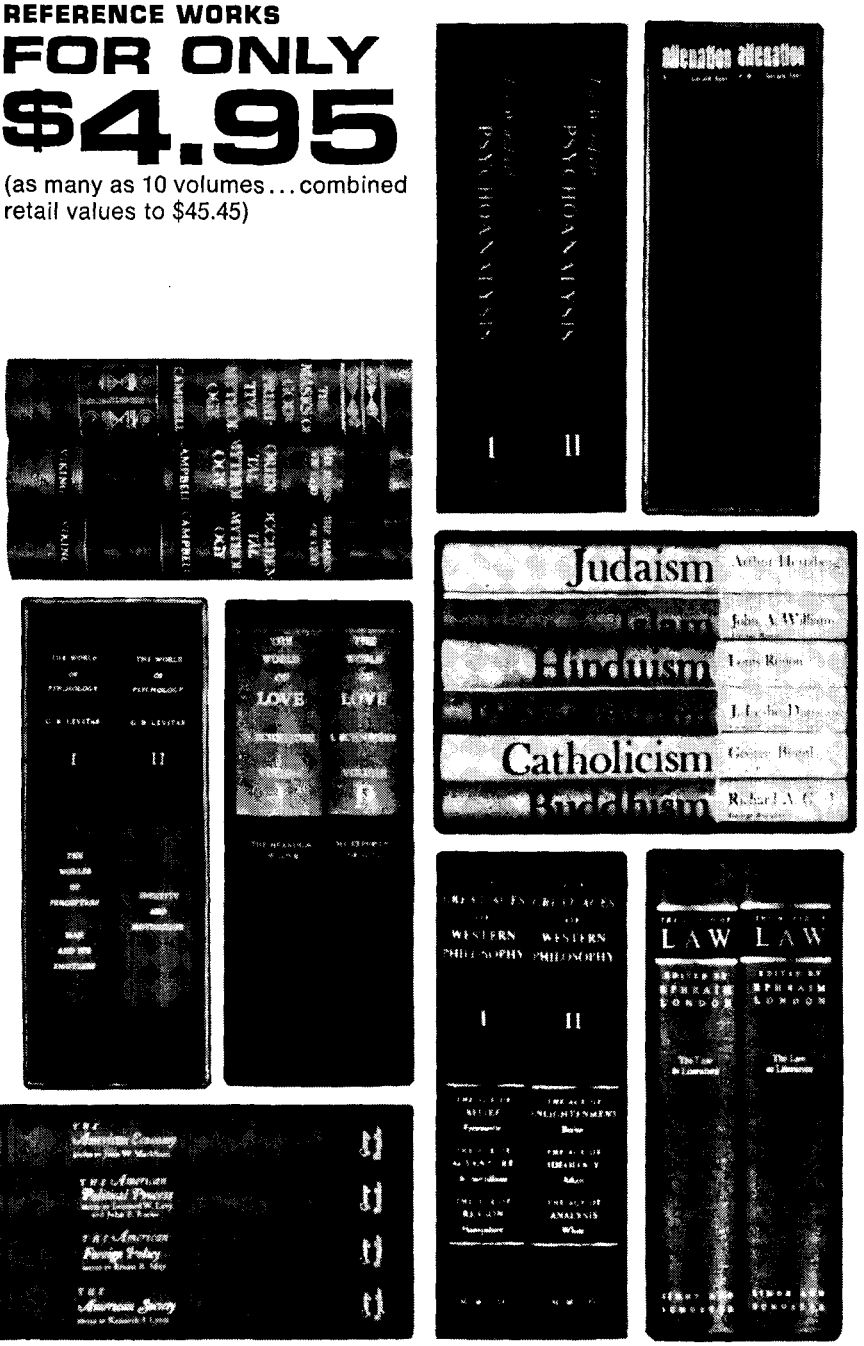

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lican. Lincoln was a war President, and war Presidents are never conspicuous for their reverence of the First Amendment. Lindsay's political coloration derives from his opposition to Goldwaterism and his more violent opposition to McCarthyism – Joe McCarthy, of course, not harmless Gene. On his record in Congress Lindsay very nearly reverts to the old, original type, the Jefferson Republican – for that, be it remembered, was the name of Jefferson's party, and Lincoln claimed to be Jefferson's political heir.

Lindsay is not popular in the House for a reason easily understood – he takes political gambles that scare the pants off his more prudent colleagues. On one occasion he cast the lone vote against a bill that in his judgment abridged freedom of the press; all the rest were terrorized into compliance by the argument that to defend freedom of the press is to defend obscenity. A man who will take that risk will take any known to politics.

The question then arises, is this character essentially a political suicide, or a political sorcerer who can conjure up a dead party and make it fight? Mr. Button plumps for the sorcerer, but his evidence, while impressive, is not conclusive. The pending election will tell the tale.

FILMS

End of an Epoch?

Repulsion
(Royal Films International)

In *The Crisis of Our Age* P. A. Sorokin identifies three forms of art that, he says, have been cyclically successive through history: the ideational, which is concerned with abstract, usually religious ideas universally accepted in a culture; the idealistic, in which elements of the subjective and emotional are admixed with the former; and the sensate, in which the subjective takes over completely. His purpose is to understand our era, one of sensate art, and to explain the phenomena that can be included under the term "modern." In this analysis he predicts (in 1941) "the morbid concentration of sensate art on pathological types of persons and events." He later notes: "The professional character of sensate art, though a boon under certain conditions, turns, at its decadent stage, into a veritable malady."

Both these statements have some application to Roman Polanski's second full-length film, *Repulsion*. His debut, *Knife in the Water*, disclosed this young Pole as a distinctive and extraordinary talent. His three-character film was a fascinating, if over-extended, Sartrean machine of self-inflicted torments. His second long work confirms his talent in every frame, but it raises the question of whether his professionalism may be a malady and whether its focus on pathology may be, in a large sense, decadent.

The story is easily described: we see a mind going to pieces. A young French girl, living in London with her older sister, is left alone in their apartment while the sister goes off with her lover for two weeks. We know the girl is in mental trouble; the sister does not. When the sister returns, at the end, the apartment is a ruin; there are two murder victims in it; the girl is in her nightgown, hiding, in the darkened flat, under her sister's bed – which she knows has often been used for love-making; sucking her thumb, almost catatonic.

There are a few false touches. A scary death-mask turns out to be a woman on a beauty-parlor table; a black-gloved hand that appears threat-

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eningly turns out to be the sister's. But with a sure sense of tempo (slow when it needs to be), with the power to make the girl's apparitions frighteningly real, with a visual selectivity that is always varied but never freakish, Polanski moves this picture forcefully down its ghastly road. The question that must be asked entirely seriously of such a serious talent is: Why?

All that happens in this film is that a girl becomes homicidally psychotic and that strong hints are given as to the reasons. (On at least two nights she hears her sister's moans and groans with her lover in the next room – complete aural pictures of intercourse. In the very last moment the camera concentrates on an early family photograph which, in ultra close-up, reveals the girl staring in mad love-hate at her father.) But more explicit documentation would have provided only greater clinical exactness, nothing else. There are two recent points of comparison, Papatakis' *Les Abysses* and Jessua's *Life Upside Down*. In *Les Abysses* an attempt was made not to detail medically the sisters' madness but to rhapsodize on it as a manifestation of evil. In Jessua's film the descent into schizophrenia was made a horribly beguiling pilgrimage to peace in a tedious-terrible world. Here there are no such implications; slice through the artistry of method, and all you find is that Polanski has got his facts right.

Further, *Repulsion* contains as horrifying a scene as I can remember, one that makes the eyeball-and-razor in *Un Chien Andalou* and the *Psycho* shower murder seem dainty. The landlord breaks into the barred apartment for his rent, is impressed by this pretty girl in her nightgown, and gets other ideas. She holds a straight razor behind her, and as she permits him to embrace her, she slits the back of his neck. We see this close up. We see the stunned man look in the mirror and discover blood. We see her slash his throat again and again as he sinks from sight. It is horrible. There has been an earlier murder, which was gruesome enough (and reminiscent of *Les Diaboliques*); it pales by comparison. We are today supposed to be primed for and needful of the Artaudian experience – the purge through violence, instead of through pity and terror. If this scene was so intended, it produced no purge in me, only the repulsion of the title. My feelings were all with the victim, who seemed to be paying a monstrous price merely for wanting to lay an attractive girl who received him in her nightgown in a dim room and whose illness he did not know of.

I hazard some guesses as to Polanski's motives for this film. First, professionally, he wanted to follow his well-received first film with a provocative second that avoided the frequent Opus Two letdown. Second, as to theme: He was brought up in an environment – Communist Poland – in which Freud is known but not numinous. Presumably he came to the subject of Freudian psychology relatively late in his still-young life and, like most converts, is liable to preach to the faithful. We remember the apocryphal remark of Pope Pius XII to Clare Booth Luce after an hour of her exhortation: "But, Mrs. Luce, I *am* a Catholic." Well, Mr. Polanski, we are all Freudians – even (one may say) those who are not.

In the leading role Catherine Deneuve, an actress of unremarkable ability, responds well to direction and creates the childlike dream-in-life quality. John Fraser, though afflicted with poor dialogue, gets some feeling into the would-be fiancé. As the sister's lover, Ian Hendry subtly conveys his knowledge of the girl's polarized emotions toward him, even at the end when he lifts her rigid body. Along the way Polanski has cleverly sketched in a number of London character vignettes.

This film, so early in his career, cannot be taken as settling anything about his future, particularly when seen against his quite different first work. One can hope that it is not a first step down a path of essentially sterile, superb professionalism. Its larger rele-

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Commentary*

higher education (cont'd)

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vance – because it is so purely clinical – is in another context: not of Polanski's career but of Sorokin's theory; as an instance of the morbid decline of sensate art. From Strindberg and Ibsen to the present it would be easy to trace a line in drama and fiction of increasingly intense concern with pathology, with many magnificent examples of the sick man as necessary hero and prototypal symbol, supporting the belief that an era of sensate art goes through a pattern. First, there is the period of recognitions ("Oh, that's just how we behaved on our honeymoon"); then the deck of laughter-and-tears cards is reshuffled and dealt, reshuffled and dealt. Then greater force must be found, as the audience's threshold of response rises or as artists grow tired of doing more or less what Dad and Grandad did. Added to that – in the current era of sensate art – is the social fact that the increasing constrictions of industrialized society have made grand emotional experience unlikely for most people. These factors have caused artists to turn increasingly to pathology, as more interesting to them, more barometric of our atmosphere, more appealing to audiences. Many of these works (like James Leo Herlihy's recent novel *Midnight Cowboy*) are well done and affecting. But taken *en bloc*, and viewed quite apart from moral considerations, even from the physical shock I have expressed, they very possibly represent the concluding of an epoch. Such a work as *Repulsion* – *because* of its excellences – may signify a drought of artistic possibilities, not of talent. It may signify that a revolutionary change is in the making, although it is not helping to make it. The tendency towards the impersonal in much of contemporary art may be less a symptom of dehumanization, as it is sometimes called, than an attempt to get away from both the laughter-and-tears circus ring and the viscerally exciting but often gratuitous plumbings of pathology: to move towards a new, refreshing, pertinent ideational art.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

ART

Paintings in the President's House

By any measure available, including square feet of painted canvas, the Johnsons – Lyndon B. and Lady Bird – have done more for the cause of art in America than anybody in the White House since Grace Coolidge, yet they continue to be dismissed as Texans who couldn't care less about the life of the mind and spirit. Perhaps they couldn't care less; or perhaps there are different ways to care, that's a possibility; but the criterion of Presidential performance here ought to be the same as it is in any other area: does he get things done and are they good or at least rationally hopeful of good. Un-put-off by refusals of their invitations, the President and Mrs. Johnson have plugged along trying to get some sense into the myriad relations between government and art. The set of relations closest to home are those at home, the White House. I recently spent a pleasant and instructive half day or so looking at pictures there, and in this and a succeeding piece I want to bring you up to date on some of the new square feet of painted canvas that has been hung.

Ever since Theodore Roosevelt arrived with his immense family and began moving the business end of his job into allegedly temporary office buildings, any views of the White House fall naturally into two parts – residence and office – but the division is more intrinsic than that. The refurbishing of the Mansion itself got under way thanks to Mrs. Kennedy. As far as pictures are concerned, her program has been greatly forwarded and improved by her successor. There is much expertise available; it is used in deciding what ought to be got hold of, in tracking it down and matching it with the right donor at the right time. In the early days of the art-for-the-White House program there were a couple of outrageous instances of dealers jacking up prices when they discovered where the pictures were really going, but that seems

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to have subsided. The White House is accepted in the market the same as any other substantial collector in a specialized area. At the other end, the offices, there is an immensely interesting program, or pair of programs, going on. It has to do with contemporary American art, including some fairly far out stuff, none of which especially attracted the Kennedys. It is pure Johnson in origin and continuation, being now about six months old. Moreover, the programs seem to have reached the President himself and are apparently bringing him along, on the familiar escalator of taste, from Peter Hurd and less to, so far, Harold Altman and a couple of other accomplished younger artists. Meanwhile back to the Mansion.

The main line ought to be pictures of Presidents and it is to a great extent. But not enough. There are gaps throughout the line of succession, and there are amazing variations in quality. There is no picture of Kennedy and nothing very distinguished of Ike. Before it's too late, some millionaire in Missouri ought to get Thomas Hart Benton to paint Truman. Hurd is slated to do Johnson, but you'd like to see Hurd's brother-in-law, Wyeth, get in on some of this, and also John Koch, Gardiner Cox and maybe Jack Levine, admittedly somewhat risky. The point is that there are people around who are as able as any of the early great portraitists to see and show character and function in a face; they ought to be used. One reason for the gaps and goofs is that nobody bothered when they could and should have.

But there are some great portraits in the house, the result, often, of President and painter made for each other: the Sargent T.R.; Sir William Orpen's elegant oil sketch of Wilson at Versailles; Inman's Angelica Van Buren, who arrived in the house aged 18 to housekeep and hostess for her widowed father-in-law; she's a good-looking, reasonably elegant, competent teenager of a kind I know is still around. John Wesley Jarvis is present in two fine examples: Andrew Jackson treated as the responsible chief of state he actually was, although he was only the Hero of New Orleans when painted; and a sober, straight-on shot of John Marshall that is an essay on what a Chief Justice should be. Rembrandt Peale's Jefferson almost seems wired for sound; you can hear the words from the drum of the rotunda of his memorial. Samuel Morse's Monroe – formerly thought of as either Peale or Sully – links quite clearly to the famed telegrapher's alleluia for Lafayette that hangs in the New York City Hall.

The ranking Presidential portrait artist is George Healy. The great seated Lincoln, which isn't but seems to be the only picture in Stanford White's magnificent state dining room, at that early date captures all the brooding, humorous soul. Healy's Tyler curiously but effectively combines a whisper of the immediate heroic past of Morse and, on the other hand, the new age as seen in a copy of the old Intelligencer, an early casualty in newspaper attrition.

There are nine Healys in the house altogether and one of the standouts is the "Peacemakers" upstairs in the Treaty Room. The four gents are Lincoln, Grant, Sherman and Admiral Porter, and they are seated in the saloon of the River Queen on the Potomac. In the convention of the day, Healy artfully shows a rainbow – "I have set my bow in the clouds" reference – through the saloon window, but that's just, forgive me, window-dressing. The piece isn't a true corporation portrait, for although they are represented as talking away, each of the four is alone. The Grant is wonderful; you can understand more readily why they went on and elected him President after seeing Healy's portrait.

First Ladies abound, not always happily. Grace Coolidge certainly deserved better than Howard Chandler Christy, the last of the great witch-hunters in American art. But Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt by Theobald Chartran has her sitting in the yard absolutely loving every minute of it, as she did. Kronstrand's Mrs. Taft, tiara and all, is very appropriately hung in the Queen's bedroom, the one to which Churchill always padded across the hall from the Lincoln room where they put him for the honor. As with some of the President and painter combinations, Abigail Adams and Ralph Earle were matched in heaven, both having that late colonial chilly determination.

Amazingly, a very high percentage,

Commentary*

higher education (cont'd)

* **GRAYSON KIRK, President of Columbia University says:** "Commentary provides a means whereby the general reader will find stimulation – and, fortunately, provocation as well – through articles relating to foreign affairs, the arts, literature, Jewish culture, sociology, and in short, the whole range of questions concerning the nature and direction of our society."

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perhaps three quarters of the really good portraits of the past have come in only in the last few years. Previously, the White House had copies and sometimes copies of copies.

Beyond portraits, the fine arts committee set up by Mrs. Kennedy has taken another important turn for the better under her successor. Mrs. Kennedy was French in taste and you can't knock it. But we are Americans and it is our house on Pennsylvania Avenue, not Malraux's. The committee now is slowly acquiring some excellent examples of the main stream of our painting and borrowing others. Already the effect is quite good.

There are things like a dark Whistler nocturne, a Childe Hassam Flag Day – talk about the painter, the subject and the place converging – Asher Durand's early Hudson River scene, "The Last of the Mohicans," which does it all so much better than poor Cooper, a Chase landscape from the Hamptons, Kensett at the Falls and, quite recently acquired, a great Winslow Homer in Maine ("Surf at Prout's Neck"), and a marvelous Sargent love letter, "The Mosquito Net."

Interestingly, sadly, the single jarring note is from the immediate past. Mrs. Kennedy and the children gave a Monet in memory of husband and father. It hangs in the Green Room. You read the brass plate and you could start weeping all over again. But the picture has no business in that room. It is not a particularly distinguished Monet to begin with. The colors clash violently with the green wall, which is not true of the other pictures in the room. Beyond that, it seems, surprisingly, left over from our childhood. The rest of the art all says firmly that we're grown-up, with painters of our own and some of them not bad.

So when Mr. Johnson is back from the hospital and you get the nod for drinks or dinner, don't be a chump: Go. They do have some pictures. And you can always issue a foreign policy paper later and say you can't approve of this or that.

FRANK GETLEIN

Next Week: Part Two
White House Art: The Offices

If you love children, your heart will go out to Tommy Littleraven, a 9-year-old American Indian boy who is attending school off the reservation for the first time. Going to school in town frightens Tommy. He is afraid that his non-Indian schoolmates are laughing at his tattered clothing, at his faulty English.

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Correspondence

Jailhouse Interrogation

Sirs:

In appearing to approve of the Acheson-Layton three-hour interrogation rule (September 18), Professor Bickel has done a serious disservice to the people of the District of Columbia. Under this rule, the police are permitted to hold arrested persons for jailhouse interrogation for substantial periods of time (actually in excess of three hours) before presentment to a judicial officer.

Presentment "without unnecessary delay" is required by rule 5(a) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. The purpose of presentment is to insure that the arrested person is informed of his right to counsel, his privilege against self-incrimination, his right to bail, and his right to challenge whether the police had probable cause to arrest him. The rights that Mr. Acheson and Chief Layton are tampering with, therefore, are among the most important of our constitutional safeguards in the administration of criminal justice.

It is true that the new rule purports to require that the police inform the arrested person of his rights. However, the Supreme Court has unanimously held, in an opinion by Justice Frankfurter, relating to this very issue, that "the awful instruments of the criminal law cannot be entrusted to a single functionary." If it is truly expected that the police will protect a citizen's rights as effectively as will a judicial officer,

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what conceivable legitimate purpose is to be achieved by bypassing the judicial officer?

Surely the prisoner in the back room of a precinct station will not obtain the same appreciation of his rights from his captors and interrogators as he would from a judge in the courthouse – even assuming that the police make a sincere and honest attempt to impress the prisoner with his rights. The essential and undeniable fact, however, is that policemen do lie. Just within the past few months, for example, the Police Department of the District of Columbia has retained on the police force no less than three officers found by Special Police Trial Boards to have lied under oath. In two of these cases the officers were lying in an attempt to justify unlawful arrests and to send innocent citizens to jail. Manifestly, perjury (an offense carrying a penalty of up to ten years) is not grounds for disqualification from our police force.

In addition, the Acheson-Layton practice denies equal protection to the indigent. The prisoner who can afford a lawyer is permitted to consult with him. The prisoner who cannot afford a lawyer is not provided one, and is told only that "one may be appointed for you when you first go to court."

Finally, the new practice will encourage unconstitutional arrests for investigation. If the police can hold a suspect for three hours and more to build up a case against him through self-incrimination, they are invited, by the same unlawful detention, to establish the probable cause required for arrest in the first instance. Mr. Acheson and Chief Layton have thus effectively removed the safeguards against a vicious practice, which produced from 10 to 30 unlawful arrests of innocent people each day in the District of Columbia.

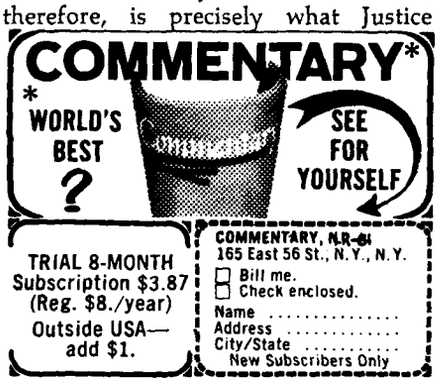
The Acheson-Layton three-hour rule, therefore, is precisely what Justice Frankfurter, writing for a unanimous Supreme Court, denounced as "wilful disobedience of law" on the part of those to whom law enforcement has been entrusted. We know that Professor Bickel does not approve of this practice, and we regret that his article seemed to imply the contrary.

Monroe H. Freedman
Chairman
National Capital Area
Civil Liberties Union

In reply:

I did not appear to approve the Acheson-Layton instructions to the Washington police. I was and remain confident that they were issued in good faith, and I thought and continue to think that they are sensible and worth a try. And I do not think that Justice Frankfurter's opinion eight years ago in the *Mallory* case can be read as a prospective declaration of their unconstitutionality.

Mr. Freedman, as is his good right, sees no problem at all. The police do, Justice Department officials do, great numbers of disinterested observers do, and Senators Tydings and Robert Kennedy do. I think there is a problem. The police must make arrests, and there is bound to be some kind of time lag between the arrest and the arraignment before a magistrate. It is to everyone's interest that there be some opportunity for police investigation, since a prisoner may want the chance to prove himself innocent, as by establishing an alibi, without making, so to speak, a federal case out of it before a magistrate. And a stopover at the station house on the trip from the street, where the arrest was made, to the magistrate's office is an absolute necessity, if for no other reason than to bring the US Attorney into the case. This whole process – including the appearance before the magistrate – involves people, not machines, and people eat and sleep and are otherwise occupied. Hence delays are inevitable, unless the arresting officer is to be required to march directly to the magistrate with his prisoner – and even then all delays would not be avoidable. If delays are unavoidable, the only question is whether the police are to be allowed to question a prisoner during the delay, and under what conditions they are to be allowed to do so. The poor are at a disadvantage as compared



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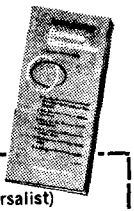

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with the rich, and they also tend to be arrested more often than the rich, but there is little the police can do about that. It is also true that any system will be subject to abuses, and that, no doubt, some policemen are liars. The question is whether holding a prisoner's statements inadmissible and reversing his conviction will best cure abuses and most effectively impress on the police the undoubted fact that truthfulness is next to godliness. It seems to me possible that the safeguards provided by the Acheson-Layton instructions may work satisfactorily. But one can only arrive at this conclusion if one first recognizes that there is a problem, and that things are not working out to everyone's satisfaction under present conditions.

Alexander M. Bickel
Yale University

Free Press *vs.* Free Trial

Sirs:

Missing in your brief discussion of "Free Press *vs.* Fair Trial" (September 25) and more often than not glossed over in all articles on this question is the protection to the "defendant" provided by the news media and newsmen.

Prosecutors, police and other mechanics of the law enforcement business spend much of their time and effort now in endeavoring to conduct their business with as little public scrutiny as possible. Any metropolitan police beat reporter can vouch for that. To arm these officials with a legal means of cutting off the news and barring the newsmen is to encourage the squad-room investigation and the third degree, the "quickie" magistrate's trial where the defendant is afraid to ask for a jury. Give the desk sergeant or chief of detectives the right to hold back data on these cases or rule out interviews with prisoners and you hit one more nail in the boarding up of the individual's civil rights.

Some years ago a veteran reporter for the Gannett-owned *Plainfield Courier News* spelled it out for me at 2 a.m. in a New Jersey police station. The police had just arrested a Newark Negro for the rape of a suburban housewife. The reporter put it this way – "look around – do you see any lawyers – anybody from the ACLU? Sure you don't. You and I are it."

Newsmen are often the only "third force" in the investigation of a crime, the arrest and the interrogation. And often they fail this responsibility and become mere apologists for the cops, passing on unquestioningly the State's Attorney's version of the case. But just as often they're the people who point out that the prisoner was arrested a week ago – how come no lawyer? No booking?

Nicholas Horrock
The Evening Sun
Baltimore, Maryland

Policing the Police

Sirs:

Herbert L. Packer's unfounded remarks ("Policing the Police," September 4) indicates to me an ironic example of why the police are not anxious to have civilian review boards. We don't want people sitting over us who don't know what the score is. To say that we are unaccountable to anyone but ourselves is ridiculous. If that were the case I would be alarmed.

Has he ever heard of false arrest suits? Has he ever wondered why policemen carry false arrest insurance? Unfortunate events have an embarrassing way of being revealed in court. Judges and district attorneys are not known to issue complaints and warrants without overly probable cause. Another minor method of policing the police is the direct and indirect election of police heads by the public.

Why do people harbor hostility toward the police? For one thing, human nature being what it is, a number of individuals don't like it when we enforce traffic laws, arrest drunks and fail to bludgeon the neighbor who has a barking dog. The Negro problem is something else. It seems unfair to me that the police are the goats for a few hundred years of racial oppression. Let the journalists, the milkmen, or any other group of workers handle the next race riot and see how popular they are with the Negroes after it's over.

We do not make the laws, we only enforce them.

James R. Piland
Deputy Sheriff
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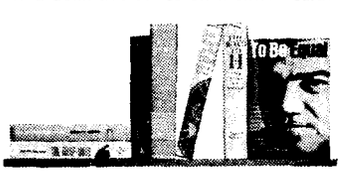

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